Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Studies

THE BYZANTINE NEIGHBOURHOOD

URBAN SPACE AND POLITICAL ACTION

Edited by
Fotini Kondyli and Benjamin Anderson

ROUTLEDGE

The Byzantine Neighbourhood

The Byzantine Neighbourhood contributes to a new narrative regarding Byzantine cities through the adoption of a neighbourhood perspective. It offers a multidisciplinary investigation of the spatial and social practices that produced Byzantine concepts of neighbourhood and afforded dynamic interactions between different actors, elite and non-elite. Authors further consider neighbourhoods as political entities, examining how collectivities formed in Byzantine neighbourhoods translated into political action. By both acknowledging the unique position of Constantinople and giving serious attention to the varieties of provincial experience, the contributors consider regional factors (social, economic, and political) that formed the ties of local communities to the state and illuminate the mechanisms of empire. Beyond its Byzantine focus, this volume contributes to broader discussions of premodern urbanism by drawing attention to the spatial dimension of social life and highlighting the involvement of multiple agents in city-making.

Fotini Kondyli is Associate Professor of Byzantine Art and Archaeology at the University of Virginia.

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Contents

Figures

Tables

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Introduction

A neighbourhood perspective on Byzantine cities

Benjamin Anderson and Fotini Kondyli

This book advances a new perspective on Byzantine cities: the predominately Greek-speaking, Christian cities of the north-eastern Mediterranean between ca. 500 and 1500 AD. Our primary focus is on the east Roman (Constantinopolitan) state, but we are also concerned with cities ruled by the smaller states that emerged after the Crusaders' sack of Constantinople in 1204.

We approach these cites from the perspective of the neighbourhood. Following the work of Michael E. Smith, we understand "the spatial division of cities into districts or neighbourhoods" as "one of the few universals of urban life from the earliest cities to the present."[1] As Paul Magdalino notes, the English "neighbourhood" is "an exact etymological and semantic equivalent of the Greek γειτονία," which is "the usual Byzantine term for an urban locality."[2] However, both to lend our analyses greater specificity and to situate Byzantine neighbourhoods within broader scholarly conversations on historical urbanism, we adopt Smith's heuristic definition of "neighbourhood": "a residential zone that has considerable face-to-face interaction and is distinctive on the basis of physical and/or social characteristics."[3]

The neighbourhood perspective helps to correct persistent biases in the study of Byzantine urbanism, which result from the adoption of "the city" as the smallest unit of analysis. In his synthetic account of "the Byzantine city," published in 2002, Charalambos Bouras posited that study must begin with "unification of all the surveys of the built evidence… into a single general plan," followed by "reconstruction of the urban fabric during various periods." Only after a general plan has been constructed can one consider "questions of demography, spatial planning, and the distribution and consumption of products."[4]

Viewed from the perspective of the general plan, the evidence for Byzantine urbanism will always be (as Bouras writes) "disheartening": "only in a tiny number of instances is it capable of providing us with a satisfactory picture of a city." The evidence will, moreover, only speak to actors who leave a mark on the general plan: "in many cases the only urban elements suitable for study are the fortification walls and the surviving churches."[5] As a result, the biographies of Byzantine cities available in scholarship are dominated

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by imperial (civil and military) and ecclesiastical officials, and other (e.g., hereditary) elites.[6]

This bias is compounded by the nature of the evidence. Written sources on Byzantine cities emphasize the activities of elite patrons in Constantinople. These accounts supply vague and ambiguous images even of imperial projects on the most prominent sites (e.g., the "Nea Ekklesia" of Basil I), and pay no heed to the remainder of the urban fabric.[7] Furthermore, Constantinople is unique in terms of function, scale, and monumentality, and thus cannot serve as a proxy for the realities (demographic, spatial, and economic) of other ("provincial") Byzantine cities.[8]

The elite bias is also rooted in the material evidence. Byzantine archaeology often requires study of the strata that classical archaeologists documented on their way to the Roman imperial and Greek layers beneath. Classical archaeology understands the city as a "parasite" on the countryside (in the evocative account of Moses Finley), or, more technically, as the location of "the secondary sector of the economy" (the phrase used by Bouras). In this view, cities result from the accumulation and redeployment of agricultural surplus by elite city-makers, who shape cities and the lived experiences of their inhabitants both by funding large-scale building projects and by promulgating laws.[9] Such views promote a kind of confirmation bias, as archaeologists may only record the remains that conform to their idea of a city.[10]

We contend that such top-down views of urban history obscure the practices of daily life.[11] They underestimate the role of ordinary people in making, maintaining, and transforming urban spaces and obscure the dynamic interactions between different actors, elite and non-elite, who participate in city-making processes.[12] When the contributions of non-elites are discussed, they are connected to informal urban developments that are defined, implicitly or explicitly, as unplanned and thus chaotic and undesirable.[13]

The establishment of the "general plan" as the primary goal of study not only obscures the contributions of non-elites but also presents a misleading image of urban form as something fixed or static. In fact, the shape of the city is in constant flux, even as individual structures – shapes on the plan – are regularly employed to new purposes. Careful stratigraphic excavation of urban localities reveals (in the words of the excavators of the Lower City Enclosure at Amorium) "a complex succession of occupation layers, superimposed structures, and more ephemeral features that signify a continuously changing urban landscape."[14] In this particular case, a neighbourhood at first defined by a monumental bath was subsequently built up by wineries, which in turn were re-purposed as domestic structures – all of this within a span of less than 500 years. Such recurring transformations in terms of architecture and function underline the necessity of flexible and dynamic definitions of neighbourhoods.

This volume contributes to a new narrative regarding Byzantine cities as built environments and as spaces of social and political interaction. It seeks, first, to expand the scholarly literature on Byzantine neighbourhoods as spatial and social units, and (by extension) to relate Byzantine neighbourhoods to better-studied neighbourhoods in other pre-industrial polities. In so doing, it both participates in an ongoing shift in the study of Byzantine cities "from monumental architecture … to the study of smaller topographical units," and seeks to supply that shift with a greater analytical specificity through the explicit adoption of a neighbourhood perspective.[15] It also participates in a discussion of premodern urbanism informed by both the "spatial turn" and the "social turn," thus drawing attention to the spatial dimension of social life and highlighting the involvement of multiple agents in city-making.[16] By considering the dialogue between urban form and social lives from the perspective of the neighbourhood, the contributors illuminate the complexity and diversity of the Byzantine city and, thus, its potential contributions to broader comparative studies.

What is a neighbourhood?

Neighbourhoods are multifunctional spaces that bring people together and thus facilitate face to face interaction beyond the level of the household.[17] They are areas of limited extent that may encompass not only residences but also sites of religious and civic ritual (e.g., churches, porticoes, and fora, in the case of Byzantine cities), small-scale commerce (shops), contact with the state (notaries), education, healing (hospitals), and leisure (baths). Neighbourhoods host daily deeds and rituals that bring together men and women, elites and non-elites, from multiple kinship groups. In so doing, they blur the boundaries between "public" and "private," and are, therefore, fundamental to the negotiation of communal identities. The study of neighbourhoods affords an intermediate perspective on urban development between the official (the monumental armature) and the domestic ("ordinary" housing). It thus captures the biographies of cities at the micro-level and offers a broader view of the socio-economic and political factors that contribute to the making of cities.

No single factor, spatial or social, defines a neighbourhood. Its spatial distinctiveness can be a result of physical geography, architecture, or both; its boundaries can be clearly delimited or ambiguous. Its social character can consist of socio-economic, professional, or ethnic diversity or homogeneity.[18] Nor do individual cultures generate unitary models of neighbourhood organization.

> There is no such thing as a 'typical' pattern of clustering within, say, Medieval cities or Islamic cities and the explanation for variation must be sought in the social, economic and political contexts of cities, not in attributes of cultures or peoples.[19]

Similarly, there is no such thing as a "typical" Byzantine neighbourhood. This holds true both from the etic and from the emic perspectives.

From the outside, we can observe variations in neighbourhood formation and organization, not only across regions and eras but even within fixed times and individual cities. This diversity is not an impediment to study. Rather, describing (and eventually explaining) the variations should be one of the primary goals of research. So too, when viewed from the inside, are neighbourhoods conceptualized and experienced variously by different groups and individuals and perceived differently by their residents and by city authorities. We should expect the residents of Byzantine cities to have worked with multiple, overlapping, and contrasting definitions of neighbourhoods.[20]

Accordingly, "the Byzantine neighbourhood" of this volume's title denotes a unit of analysis, not an ideal type. Some contributors highlight differences between administrative districts and socially bonded neighbourhoods. Others offer definitions based on the variety of activities, buildings, and natural features that informed how the residents of Byzantine cities both formed and conceptualized neighbourhoods. Some approach neighbourhoods primarily on the basis of textual sources, and others primarily on the basis of archaeology, whereby all draw to some degree on both literary and material evidence. Some explicitly engage in comparisons with other places and times, while others remain firmly focused on the Byzantine evidence.

We consider this multiplicity of approaches to be salutary. Instead of insisting on a single method of study, with an eye to producing a single model of Byzantine neighbourhoods, we support a methodologically diverse and multidisciplinary effort to produce a richly textured picture of Byzantine urbanism. Just as neighbourhoods promote interaction between diverse residents, thereby generating shared spaces, shared experiences and shared obligations, so, too, can the neighbourhood become a site of collaboration and debate between diverse scholars, with an eye to generating shared hypotheses and shared questions for future study.

Neighbourhoods as spatial and social entities

In his discussion of a socio-spatial dialectic in cities, E.W. Soja writes:

> While it may be easy to grasp the idea that everything spatial is simultaneously, even problematically, social, it is much more difficult to comprehend the reverse relation, that what is described as social is always at the same time intrinsically spatial.[21]

We could translate this observation into a question about Byzantine urbanism. It is obvious that the most dramatic aspects of the growth and development of cities are simultaneously social phenomena: for example, that the end of the "ancient city" had fundamental consequences for Roman society, or that the importation of Venetian architectural and urban models transformed the social structure of late medieval and early modern Crete. These are examples of the intrinsically social character of the spatial. But what about the reverse – the intrinsically spatial character of the social? Where in Byzantine cities can we perceive the interpellation of individuals into larger social entities? Where are the constituent elements of collective identity generated and fused, and where were the points of friction or resistance to these processes?

In a recent study of middle Byzantine history, Anthony Kaldellis concludes that "it remains" for scholars "to show in detail how the institutions and public ideology of the state could create, sustain, reflect, or be enmeshed with the Romanness of the majority of its subjects."[22] We agree, and we would add two observations. First, any answer to the "how" will be insufficient if it does not also address *where* these processes occurred. This is because (second observation) a focus on the spatial aspects of Byzantine society reveals aspects of subject formation that do not depend upon (and may indeed resist, or simply ignore) state institutions and ideologies.

One answer to the "where" is the neighbourhood. Neighbourhoods facilitate as well as frame social interactions. They encompass shared spaces, actions, and experiences, and thus shape communities. It is at the microscale of the neighbourhood – in the streets, houses, workshops, churches, and open spaces around buildings – that state officials, "aristocratic" elites, and ordinary people encounter each other, form alliances, negotiate the layout and form of their cities, and decide on norms and accepted behaviours.[23]

By adopting the neighbourhood as a unit of analysis, we draw attention to people's actions within their social and material settings and account for the full range of social actors, not limited to officers of state and church, who impacted the built environment. Collectively, although not always in agreement, these actors defined what a city was and what it meant to live in one. Byzantine neighbourhoods could encompass significant differences in terms of class, occupation, and ethnicity; the resulting inequalities could lead to tension, or encourage cooperation, mutual support, and cohesion. The study of neighbourhoods thus necessarily includes consideration of a variety of social bonds, including conflict, competition, and collaboration; together with the opportunities that such interactions afford for gaining respect, wealth, and social capital.[24]

The resulting spatial configurations are not homologous with administrative divisions of the city into smaller units. Smith draws a useful distinction between the "neighbourhood" (the bottom-up, organic unit) and the "district" (the state-drawn, administrative unit). Here we can make a general observation on the basis of the contributions to this volume: the middle Byzantine state showed remarkably little interest in dividing cities into districts. This seems to us peculiar, and worthy of further discussion. Whereas studies of, for example, Augustan Rome or fifth-century Constantinople need to distinguish between the state view and local perceptions of neighbourhoods,[25] the Byzantine state barely saw neighbourhoods at all. As

Leonora Neville remarks in her contribution to this volume, "in a formal sense, neighbourhoods do not seem to have been particularly important to the Byzantine imperial government."

If the state could not (or preferred not to) see neighbourhoods, how can we do any better? Here we arrive at the crux of the matter. Byzantine sources, both written texts and built monuments, will rarely seek to inform us *where* Byzantine society was produced. It is rather a question that we must pose ourselves, and to answer it we must read the sources, both textual and material, against the grain.

Reading the monumental evidence against the grain means pushing past architectural-typological categories to understand how manmade and natural features participated in the organization and conceptualization of the urban environment. The original builders of monuments are, from this perspective, less important than subsequent generations of users and viewers; a monument can stand for centuries after its construction, and its meanings and functions can change substantially in the interim. A good example is the Praetorium of Gortyn, discussed in this volume by Christina Tsigonaki. Another example is the previously mentioned bath complex in the Lower City Enclosure at Amorium, which, after the destruction of the surrounding neighbourhood in 838, remained substantially preserved and was subsequently transformed into a pretentious residence.[26]

Contributors to this volume focus on three distinct types of nuclei that participated in the formation of neighbourhoods: public works (including streets, baths, facilities for the distribution of water, and fortifications); ecclesiastical architecture (both churches built to accommodate lay worshippers, and monasteries); sites of individual or family investment (houses and shops). Some contributors focus on a particular type or even a single monument: for example, hydraulic networks in general, as in Jordan Pickett's contribution, or a single church, as in the chapter by Amy Papalexandrou, William Caraher, and R. Scott Moore. However, they always consider those constructions in relation to neighbouring monuments and (especially) the open spaces in-between.

Analysis across typological categories activates material evidence that belongs to no pre-existing typology. For example, Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan draws attention to a "small square, on which a stone block was laid down as a bench," in between a xenodochion (guest-house) and a residential quarter in Assos (Figure 3.7). The square and the bench framed and facilitated interaction between locals and visitors. They therefore generated recognition both of differences and similarities, elements of civic and regional identity (in the former case), and supra-regional (e.g., Roman) identity (in the latter case). All of this happened without state intervention. Monuments form multifunctional networks that collectively foster interaction and community formation.[27] By reading the material evidence against the grain, we produce a multi-scaled study that moves along a spectrum from individual to community, private to public spaces.

Reading the textual evidence against the grain means both collecting and analysing the totality of explicit references to neighbourhoods, and seeking literary representations that illuminate the formation and reproduction of neighbourhoods, but without using the term. Albrecht Berger, for example, draws attention to the importance of "focal points" mentioned in passing by historians, ecclesiastical writers, and patriographers. When these references are collected and placed on a map, an important conclusion emerges: focal points did not so much demarcate discrete spatial entities as generate a dense field of overlapping entities. These entities, Berger concludes, are "neighbourhoods in the social sense, but their borders (if indeed they had borders) were flexible."

Byzantine hagiographers frequently represented neighbourhood life, but such accounts are complex in intent and may even delight in misdirection.[28] Take, for example, the law code embedded in the tenth-century *Life of Gregentios of Taphar* (*BHG* 705), here discussed by Berger and Neville. This purports to regulate the affairs of the sixth-century Himyarites, but its Draconian strictures on neighbourhood life in fact represent (as Neville writes) "the fantasy of a sex-obsessed monk." Another remarkable example, discussed in the contribution of Papalexandrou, Caraher, and Moore, is the *Life of Symeon Salos* (*BHG* 1677). This was composed by a mid-seventh-century bishop of Neapolis, on Cyprus, but set in Syrian Emesa in the preceding century. The text makes only a single explicit mention (albeit a highly revealing one) of "neighbourhood" (γειτονία);[29] but includes numerous representations of neighbourhood life. Consider, for example, the barkeeper who employs Symeon to entertain his customers. "When the townspeople were ready for a diversion, they said to each other, 'Let's go have a drink where the Fool is,'" and there they would find Symeon "dancing outside with the members of a circus faction."[30] The new popularity of the tavern activated the open spaces of the surrounding neighbourhood, thereby engaging multiple levels of society.

One might ask whether this is a datum about Emesa or about Neapolis; indeed, viewed from a strictly empirical perspective, it is neither. However, as a literary image embedded within a rhetorically complex text, it engages broader discourses both about how neighbourhoods do function (a representational discourse) and how they should function (a normative discourse).[31] In this sense it resembles the (superficially more straightforward) representation of a Constantinopolitan neighbourhood in the seventh-century *Miracles of Artemios* (*BHG* 173), discussed by Benjamin Anderson in his contribution to this volume.

The study of neighbourhoods entails parallel analysis of such disparate sources, textual and material, in order to comprehend the spatial aspects of Byzantine society. We will never excavate the tavern outside of which Symeon danced with the circus partisans, just as we will never find a text that describes the interactions between visitors and locals outside the xenodochion in Assos. Nevertheless, the life of Symeon and the square in Assos illuminate each other, by reinforcing the social complexity of apparently modest areas between monumental constructions.

It may be true that, as Bouras writes, "the concept of the agora as the meeting place of the citizens… had long since died away" in Byzantine cities.[32] But the disappearance of a single, state-sponsored meeting place was accompanied by a proliferation of smaller, informal meeting places as the results of large-scale excavations confirm. For example, at Frankish Corinth, an internal courtyard with benches surrounded by shops and a public market street in the same area point to spaces of intense social and economic interaction.[33] The network of open courtyards and alleys discovered in a winemaking district at Amorium might have served similar purposes.[34] This volume offers further examples: the small chapels set between houses in Athens and Thebes that are discussed by Fotini Kondyli and Nikos Kontogiannis in their respective chapters; the open spaces outside churches discussed by Papalexandrou, Caraher, and Moore on the basis of their excavation in Cyprus, and by Anderson on the basis of the Constantinopolitan *Miracles of Artemios*; the sites for collection and distribution of water discussed by Christina Tsigonaki in her study of two Cretan cities, and by Jordan Pickett in his comparative account of late Roman water networks in the eastern Mediterranean. These, we argue, must count among the places *where* individuals became members of Byzantine society. They are also sites in which the east Roman state expressed little interest, and in which it had no official presence. This forms a striking contrast to the strong presence of the Roman imperial state in provincial fora and agorai.[35]

We wish to emphasize especially the recurring appearance in the literary and the archaeological evidence of open spaces, with minimal architectural articulation (small squares, benches, wells, fountains, porticoes, tombs, etc.), as sites of social interaction. This should in turn prompt a reconsideration of the morphological development of cities between late antiquity and the middle Byzantine period, in particular the shift from a continuous urban fabric to a more dispersed settlement pattern. Scholars of medieval Italian urbanism describe this more dispersed pattern as the *città a isole*, the "city of islands," and the term has been usefully applied to eastern Mediterranean cities as well: for example, to Hierapolis, where "residential areas… sometimes centred on small ecclesiastical buildings" were "scattered around the ancient urban landscape and linked by a relatively well-preserved road network."[36]

The interpretation of this morphological phenomenon depends in large part on the interpretation of the open spaces between neighbourhoods. If they are viewed negatively – as blanks on the general plan, absences of monumental architecture – then the interpretation will emphasize urban decline ("ruralization" of the city). If, by contrast, they are viewed positively – as sites of encounter between residents of distinct neighbourhoods – then the interpretation will emphasize a shift in the primary scene of social interaction: from the formally planned, official space (the agora) to the informal clearings and paths.

The spatial nature of social life is not merely a question of “where,” but also one of “what”: those common practices that activate the spaces in which they occur. One obvious example is gossip, or (more neutrally) exchange of information with and about others, especially those outside of one’s immediate kinship group. By establishing both criteria of newsworthiness and shared moral judgments, such exchanges enact and negotiate social norms, while simultaneously forming in-groups and out-groups (‘us’ and ‘them’).

Daily interaction in shared spaces frequently leads, moreover, to collective problem-solving: regarding the management of behaviour (as in the case of the theft discussed in Anderson’s chapter below), of space (as in the case of the gated street discussed by Kondyli), and of resources (as in the case of the neighbourhood wells discussed by Pickett). Even interactions as mundane as sharing a well or passing by on the street become significant when repeated regularly and help to form shared mental maps of urban form.

Common spatial practices may also transcend the present moment and establish communities across time: most obviously in the case of the shared remembrances practiced, for example, at tombs or icons, and also through the continuing use of visibly ancient structures. An example, discussed in this volume by both Kontogiannis and Neville, is the Theban confraternity whose shared veneration of a single icon established links not only between neighbourhoods but also beyond Thebes to a remembered past in Naupaktos. All of these various practices share in common the ability to forge communities out of individuals. The resulting communities need not be political, but they can under certain circumstances become political, a process to which we now turn.

The political character of Byzantine neighbourhoods

Thus far in this introduction, we have sought to emphasize the social aspects of Byzantine neighbourhoods that escaped the direct intervention, or indeed even the notice, of the state. Recognition of these aspects does not entail a strict division between the social and the political; rather, it sustains the possibility that collectivities of various sizes may exercise political agency in a fashion not wholly determined by the institutions and public ideology of the state.

Byzantinists have not always admitted the existence of political collectivities situated between the family and the state. In their account of *People and Power in Byzantium*, Alexander Kazhdan and Giles Constable claimed that

> the average Byzantine, deprived of any form of social relationship, consciously kept within the narrow circle of the nuclear family and, lacking the means of collective defense and help, felt alone and solitary in

> a dangerous world, naked before an incomprehensible, metaphysical authority.[37]

We contend that adoption of a neighbourhood perspective falsifies this claim by revealing the existence, not only of various forms of social relationship but also of collective defence and help, and thus ultimately of a means by which citizens could make sense of, and intervene with, state authority.

A failure to recognize the agency of ordinary people in political processes renders their places of dwelling and business irrelevant to political action and change.[38] That makes the political nature of neighbourhoods invisible, if not unimaginable. There is, however, ample evidence of the range of political activities that non-elites undertook. They belonged, for example, to those city councils that represented the city in legal matters, managed city properties, and made decisions about the city's defence, including surrendering in case of attack or supporting different rulers.[39] Representatives of professions and local guilds actively participated in the councils, as did other groups of citizens who could be elected as long as they owned property and resided in the city.[40] These groups' political agency is also echoed in middle Byzantine texts where tradesmen, manual workers, and street vendors are often identified as political agitators and rioters.[41] Such political expressions suggest the existence of urban collectivities, distinct from both the aristocracy and the (imperial and ecclesiastical) "service elite," that sought power in both local and central government as a means to pursue their own interests.[42] In this light, social bonds forged in neighbourhoods, in streets, shops, and open spaces could achieve political salience.

More dramatic cases of the political activation of neighbourhoods involve revolt against imperial authority. Paul Magdalino draws attention to an example in the chronicle of John Skylitzes.

> When the *proedros* Theodosios attempted a coup d'état in 1056, he marched on the Great Palace from his house at the Leomakellion at the head of a following that included many of his neighbours along with his family and household: an interesting indication that urban residents could feel a sense of solidarity with their neighbourhood aristocrat, no doubt because he invited them to his parties and used his influence to improve their living conditions.[43]

A march from the neighbourhood to the palace is the simplest and most direct means by which the local social bonds become politically salient. At the same time, the simplicity of the story must conceal a more complex dynamic at the neighbourhood level. As Leonora Neville remarks in her contribution to this volume, residents of the Leomakellion "could choose to stand in solidarity with that man as a neighbour or to stay away, either in opposition to his agenda or avoidance of his troubles."

A recent study by Yannis Smarnakis of the Zealots' Revolt in Thessaloniki (1342–1350) reveals a more complex interface between urban space and political action. Indeed, the Zealots' Revolt is a kind of encyclopaedia of the elements of Byzantine neighbourhood politics, which it mobilized in an unusually dramatic and concerted fashion during a moment of extreme political polarization. The city was divided between supporters of John VI Kantakouzenos and supporters of John V Palaiologos (the "Zealots"). The Zealots originated in and controlled the neighbourhood of the harbour in the southwest. The harbour neighbourhood was distinguished by its physical characteristics, by the maritime occupations of its inhabitants, and by the substantial presence of migrants from the Venetian-controlled Cyclades.[44] The supporters of Kantakouzenos, meanwhile, were based in the Acropolis, at the opposite, north-eastern end of the city. The central neighbourhoods between harbour and agora "were contested spaces whose control was continuously claimed … through the exercise of religious violence and the imaginative use of religious rituals."[45]

The Zealots' Revolt was an extended political action that originated in a specific neighbourhood, sought to extend its reach through direct spatial intervention in noncommitted neighbourhoods, and ultimately aimed at greater local autonomy from imperial government. It was exceptional in many ways: in its stridency, in its duration, and its violence. But its use of neighbourhood practices to advance political goals was not exceptional. Moving beyond the study of highly visible and large-scale events such as revolts and riots, contributions in this volume investigate the evidence for more modest forms of grassroots action, self-governance, and collaboration and conflict between local and imperial powers. If the occupation of an arterial street was a political act in fourteenth-century Thessaloniki, so too was the construction of a gate across a street in middle Byzantine Athens, considered by Kondyli in her chapter – even if, in the latter case, we can no longer name the agents responsible. The violent conflicts between harbour and Acropolis in Thessaloniki recall the ritual fighting between neighbourhoods of eighth-century Ravenna discussed by Tsigonaki – even if the latter was not explicitly ideological. And the public enactment of religious rituals, both within the harbour neighbourhood and in the city at large, recall the icon processions in medieval Thebes discussed by Kontogiannis and Neville – even if the latter did not oppose the state.

Not all forms of neighbourhood politics are "bottom-up." Although the Byzantine state did not formally recognize neighbourhoods as political units, it did directly intervene in their formation and development, particularly through public works. As Tsigonaki discusses in her contribution, some city walls constructed during the transitional period required material investment and expertise on a scale that only the state could muster. These directly influenced the formation of neighbourhoods, in particular, by drawing a line (in Tsigonaki's words) between "residents who have the right to security and those who do not."[46] Provision of arterial water via aqueducts, a major function of the Roman state, was maintained in some Byzantine cities, notably Thessaloniki (whose water supply Pickett discusses in his chapter) and Constantinople, with repercussions for neighbourhood formation in both.

Nevertheless, many amenities once supplied by the Roman state became local responsibilities in Byzantine cities. The eighth-century Ravennate neighbourhoods discussed by Tsigonaki were defined by their responsibility for the upkeep of city gates. Ine Jacobs has collected attestations of local responsibility for the maintenance of streets and walls.[47] Hugh Barnes and Mark Whittow distinguished between the state-built walls of medieval Anatolia, the product of military engineering, and the more ad hoc circuits constructed by communities to provide for their own defence.[48] As Pickett writes in his chapter, the transitional period is marked by a sharp reduction in the number of functioning aqueducts, which are gradually replaced by more local (often church-based) wells and cisterns. When Byzantine neighbourhoods assumed traditional state functions, the result could be (as Pickett observes) "more equitable access to a broadened portfolio of… resources." This is a political phenomenon of considerable interest.

Between "bottom-up" and "top-down" forms of interaction between the neighbourhood and the state, there lies a grey area of more ambiguous encounters. Neighbourhoods can make use of state institutions to their own ends, and this certainly happened in Byzantine cities. Anderson, in his contribution to this volume, discusses the use by a Constantinopolitan neighbourhood of the urban prefecture to regulate its own affairs; the technique used was perjury, but all parties are depicted as happy with the result. State-built works could be re-purposed by local populations. For example, the citadel of Sardis, built by military engineers in the transitional period, housed an agricultural community by the fourteenth century.[49] Similarly, at Butrint, two Late Antique towers from the city's Western Defences were transformed into dwellings and spaces of minor industrial activities by the eighth and ninth centuries.[50] Likewise, states can use neighbourhood institutions to their own ends.[51] The range of relevant phenomena is broad, and stretches from enlistment of community organizations to distribute resources in a crisis, to the recruitment of police informants. But it remains to be shown that the Byzantine state was sufficiently well informed about the neighbourhoods of its cities to practice this form of politics.

While very few Byzantine neighbourhoods opposed the state through outright rebellion, many could manage local affairs without state assistance, and some were, thus, able to outlive the Roman state. The foreign concessions in Constantinople might seem an obvious example. However, as Berger demonstrates in his chapter, these were never neighbourhoods in the heuristic sense that we employ here. Moreover, the character of the community in Galata changed dramatically after 1453.[52] In general, the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople entailed a drastic depopulation of the city followed by repopulation through forced migration.[53] As Berger remarks, resemblances between the neighbourhood structure of Byzantine and Ottoman Constantinople are superficial and misleading.

To find Byzantine neighbourhoods that survived the Byzantine state, we need to turn to the provinces. The examples of Chalcis and Thebes, discussed by Kontogiannis in this volume, are especially interesting. While the general plans of both cities were modified by their new (Venetian and Catalan) rulers, Kontogiannis shows that the neighbourhoods "managed to preserve their formation and basic functions." Indeed, the cities' "notorious" willingness to accept new rulers may be seen as a pragmatic strategy to maintain prosperity based on neighbourhood industry.

Volume organization

This book is divided into three parts that address three distinct topics, which correspond to the three sections of this introduction: the definition of neighbourhoods, neighbourhoods as social spaces, and neighbourhoods as sites of political action. As these three topics are intrinsically connected, each individual contribution necessarily reaches outside the immediate remit of the section in which it has been placed. Nevertheless, if read in order, the essays present a cumulative account and collectively demonstrate the contributions of a neighbourhood perspective to the study of Byzantine urbanism.

The first section, on the definition of Byzantine neighbourhoods, contains two chapters: one by Albrecht Berger on the contribution of textual evidence, and the other by Fotini Kondyli on the contribution of archaeological evidence. Both essays consider both emic and etic definitions. Berger draws a firm distinction between administrative and "social" definitions of the neighbourhoods of Constantinople. While the former may be delimited by lines drawn on a map, the latter radiated outwards from "focal points" (in particular churches and aristocratic houses); their boundaries were not fixed, and frequently overlapped. Kondyli's account of medieval Athens also considers churches as focal points, while emphasizing the range of monuments that the category "church" can embrace, and the different roles that they play in neighbourhood foundation. She furthermore presents evidence for the occupational diversity of medieval neighbourhoods and draws attention to the varieties of political action that they might undertake. Both essays, taken together, establish that the neighbourhood was a spatially flexible and demographically heterogeneous element of Byzantine cities, which nevertheless (or indeed precisely because of its diversity and flexibility) attained political salience.

The second section, on the spatial and social characteristics of Byzantine neighbourhoods, contains three chapters. Each adopts a primary focus on an architectural type (house, church, and hydraulic network, respectively), while simultaneously setting examples of that type in dialogue with their surroundings. Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan focuses on the well-preserved residential architecture of Assos, a city that was completely rebuilt following the earthquake in 460 AD. On the basis of typology, construction, scale, inventory, and adjacency to other monument types (churches, monasteries, hostels), she considers the social characteristics of individual neighbourhoods, and draws attention to the shifting foci of social life. The reconstruction of Assos was marked, namely, by an expansion of interior gathering spaces ("courtyards") and by the contraction of exterior gathering spaces (streets and squares). Amy Papalexandrou, William Caraher, and R. Scott Moore, by contrast, consider a single church in Cypriot Arsinoë, which was constructed in the sixth century and expanded in the seventh century with the addition of a portico. Although the adjacent domestic architecture has not been recovered, the collaborative effort involved in the construction of the church and its integration into an open ensemble (portico, street, tetrapylon, fountain) illuminate the community that worshipped and buried its dead there.

While the first two chapters in this section focus on individual cities, Jordan Pickett's essay adopts a comparative, multi-regional approach to hydraulic networks between late antiquity and the middle Byzantine period. He identifies a general trend from city-wide distribution via aqueducts to the more localized collection and distribution via wells and cisterns. Nevertheless, the specific manifestations of this shift varied widely, with significant implications for neighbourhood formation. Whereas a period of drought at Caesarea Maritima provoked a semi-privatization of water distribution, the developments in Thessaloniki and Ephesos were more gradual, marked by greater participation of the church, and may have resulted in more equitable distribution.

The third section, on neighbourhoods as political agents, contains four chapters, of which three are regional case studies (focusing on Constantinople, Crete, and central Greece, respectively), and the fourth is a concluding, multi-regional synthesis. Instead of focusing on a single type of monument, each contribution attempts to comprehend neighbourhoods in their totality. Benjamin Anderson considers the network of houses, churches, shops, and baths that made up the Oxeia, a neighbourhood of Constantinople vividly depicted in the seventh-century *Miracles of Artemios*. He argues that the *Miracles* advance a consistent point of view regarding the conduct of the residents and the proper means of its regulation. While the latter rarely required state interference, it could, in extreme cases, employ state institutions to its own ends. Christina Tsigonaki, by contrast, illustrates the central role of state interventions (especially the construction of walls and aqueducts) in the formation of neighbourhoods in two Cretan cities, Gortyn and Eleutherna. Tsigonaki demonstrates the particularly rich character of the archaeological evidence for these cities, both of which were abandoned after the Arab conquest of the island, and both of which have been extensively excavated in recent decades, providing a rare snapshot of a moment of transition between the late antique and the medieval city.

Nikos Kontogiannis also focuses on long-term changes in the urban fabric of two cities, Chalcis and Thebes: beginning with the large-scale state interventions of the transitional period, moving through the economic prosperity of the middle Byzantine period, and continuing beyond the changes attendant upon the collapse of Constantinopolitan rule in 1204. Kontogiannis depicts neighbourhoods marked by strong local identities that enabled collective action in times of political change, with the result that Byzantine neighbourhoods outlived the Byzantine state.

The final essay in this section also serves as a conclusion to the volume as a whole. Leonora Neville considers the lack of Byzantine-era theorization of neighbourhoods alongside the ample evidence for the importance of neighbourhoods in Byzantine society. She argues that the apparent tension between these two bodies of evidence reveals the distinct configuration of Byzantine politics. Neighbourhoods both facilitated and impeded the formation of collectivities in Byzantine cities.

While this volume does present a cumulative account of the Byzantine neighbourhood, one greater than the sum of the individual contributions, it is not comprehensive. We consider it important to ground the study of the Byzantine neighbourhood in the urban developments of late antiquity. Nevertheless, this volume, like most studies of the Byzantine city, remains disproportionately weighted towards the sixth and seventh centuries, particularly as regards the exploitation of archaeological evidence. It does demonstrate the utility of a neighbourhood perspective in reconceiving the late antique-middle Byzantine transition (especially through the contributions of Pickett, Anderson, and Tsigonaki), and in describing the distinctive characteristics of the middle Byzantine city (especially through the contributions of Kondyli and Kontogiannis; and note Böhlendorf-Arslan's discussion of the excavations at Boğazköy). However, with the notable exception of Kontogiannis' accounts of Catalan Thebes and Venetian Chalcis, its image of the late Byzantine city is rooted primarily in texts: the patriarchal documents on Palaiologan Constantinople briefly discussed by Berger, for example, and the references to the neighbourhoods of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Thessaloniki found in the Athonite archives and discussed here by Neville.

In other words, this volume is meant to initiate a conversation, not to present a definitive statement. We will consider it a success if it prompts readers to approach additional sets of evidence from the perspective of the neighbourhood, and to compare the results to those presented here. We believe that the result of such a collective enterprise would be a richer and more accurate account of the nature of Byzantine society, in particular as regards its complex and shifting relation to the east Roman state and its successors.

Notes

1 Michael E. Smith, "The Archaeological Study of Neighborhoods and Districts in Ancient Cities," *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 29 (2010): 137–154, here at 137.

2 Paul Magdalino, “Neighbourhoods in Byzantine Constantinople,” in *Hinter den Mauern und auf dem offenen Land: Leben im byzantinischen Reich*, ed. Falko Daim and Jörg Drauschke, Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident 3 (Mainz: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, 2016), 23–30, here at 23.
3 Smith, “Archaeological Study,” 139.
4 Charalambos Bouras, “Aspects of the Byzantine City, Eighth–Fifteenth Centuries,” in *The Economic History of Byzantium*, ed. Angeliki E. Laiou (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2002), 497–528, here at 498 and 500.
5 Ibid., 498–500.
6 See, for example, the charts in Cecil L. Striker, John Malcolm Russell, and Janet C. Russell, “Quantitative Indications about Church Building in Constantinople, 325–1453 AD,” *Architectura* 38 (2008): 1–12.
7 On this problem, see Robert Ousterhout, “Reconstructing Ninth-Century Constantinople,” in *Byzantium in the Ninth Century: Dead or Alive?*, ed. Leslie Brubaker (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 115–130.
8 On the study of Constantinople and its consequences, see Paul Magdalino, “Byzantium= Constantinople.” in *A Companion to Byzantium*, ed. Liz James (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 43–54.
9 Moses I. Finley, *The Ancient Economy* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1985), 123–150.
10 A well-published (if still little interpreted) exception is the carefully documented excavation of the Byzantine strata in the Central Area in Corinth; on which see Kostis Kourelis, “Byzantium and the Avant-Garde: Excavations at Corinth, 1920s–1930s,” *Hesperia* 76 (2002): 391–442, especially at 397–401. Other excavations were carefully documented but never published. Fotini Kondyli’s contribution to this volume rests in part on the re-analysis of archival data from the excavations of the Athenian Agora. Benjamin Anderson and Jordan Pickett are currently re-analysing archival data from the excavations of the Acropolis at Sardis. But these projects are exceptions. As Kourelis writes, “typical practice” for the big digs at major classical sites of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries “swiftly destroyed most of the Byzantine accretions with minimal documentation”: Ibid., 398.
11 See also criticism in Norman Yoffee, “Making Ancient Cities Plausible,” *Reviews in Anthropology* 38 (2009): 264–289, here at 281–282. For a similar discussion for Late Antique cities and the emphasis on the social life of the cities, see Luke Lavan, “Late Antique Urban Topography: From Architecture to Human Space,” in *Late Antique Archaeology*, ed. Luke Lavan and William Bowden (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 169–195.
12 For spaces as products of social relations, see Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Blackwell: Oxford, 1991). See also Monica L. Smith, “Introduction: The Social Construction of Ancient Cities,” in *The Social Construction of Ancient Cities*, ed. Monica L. Smith (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Books, 2003), 1–36 here at 14–19 and 25.
13 Bouras, “Aspects,” 508. Compare Smith’s approach to premodern urban planning, which moves beyond binaries of planned versus unplanned cities: Michael Smith, “Form and Meaning in the Earliest Cities: A New Approach to Ancient Urban Planning.” *Journal of Planning History* 6 (2007): 3–47.
14 Eric A. Ivison, “Excavations at the Lower City Enclosure, 1996–2008,” *Amorium Reports 3: The Lower City Enclosure Finds Reports and Technical Studies,* ed. C.S. Lightfoot and E.A. Ivison (İstanbul: Ege Yayınları, 2012), 1–151, here at 7.
15 The quote is from Helen G. Saradi, “The Byzantine Cities (8th–15th Centuries): Old Approaches and New Directions,” in *Οι Βυζαντινές Πόλεις (8ος–15ος αιώνας): Προοπτικές της έρευνας και νέες ερμηνευτικές προσεγγίσεις,* ed. Tonia Kiosopoulou

(Rethymno: Ekdoseis Philosophikēs Scholēs Panepistēmiou Krētēs, 2012), 25–45, here at 35. The existing literature includes Paul Magdalino, "The Maritime Neighborhoods of Constantinople: Commercial and Residential Functions, Sixth to Twelfth Centuries," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 54 (2000): 209–226; idem, "Neighbourhoods in Byzantine Constantinople"; Albrecht Berger, "Regionen und Straßen im frühen Konstantinopel," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 47 (1997): 349–414; idem, "Streets and Public Spaces in Constantinople," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 54 (2000): 161–172; Marlia M. Mango, "The Commercial Map of Constantinople," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 54 (2000): 189–207; Ken R. Dark, "Houses, Streets and Shops in Byzantine Constantinople from the Fifth to the Twelfth Centuries," *Journal of Medieval History* 30 (2004): 83–107; Benjamin Anderson, "Social Clustering in 5th-c. Constantinople: The Evidence of the Notitia," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 29 (2016): 494–508.

16 For new directions in the study of ancient urbanism, see Smith, "Introduction," 1–36; Andrew Creekmore and Kevin D. Fisher, "Making Ancient Cities: New Perspectives on the Production of Urban Places," in *Making Ancient Cities: Space and Place in Early Urban Cities*, ed. Andrew Creekmore and Kevin D. Fisher (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 1–31, here at 3–4; Yoffee, "Making Ancient Cities," 264–89. For the spatial turn in reconstructing the past see Ralph Kingston, "Mind over Matter? History and the Spatial Turn," *Cultural and Social History* 7 (2010): 111–121; in the study of Byzantine cities, see Myrto Veikou, "Space in Texts and Space as Text: An Approach to Byzantine Spatial Notions," *Scandinavian Journal of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 2 (2016): 143–176, here at 143–153. Some of these approaches are integral to the study of Late Antique cities but have yet to significantly influence the study of Middle and Late Byzantine urbanism. See Saradi, "Byzantine Cities," 25–32.

17 Most chapters in this volume use Smith's definition of neighbourhood as their point of departure, emphasizing face to face interaction. Smith, "Archaeological Study," 139–140.

18 George L. Cowgill, "Origins and Development of Urbanism: Archaeological Perspectives," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 33 (2004): 525–549, here at 538–539; Smith, "Archaeological Study," 145–50; Abigail M. York et al., "Ethnic and Class Clustering through the Ages: A Transdisciplinary Approach to Urban Neighbourhood Social Patterns," *Urban Studies* 48 (2011): 2399–2415; Scott Hutson, *The Ancient Urban Maya: Neighborhoods, Inequality, and Built Form* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2016), 71–72.

19 York et al., "Ethnic and Class Clustering," 2409–2410.

20 Kathryn Keith, "The Spatial Patterns of Everyday Life in Old Babylonian Neighborhoods," in *The Social Construction of Ancient Cities*, ed. Monica L. Smith (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 2003), 56–80, here at 58; Hutson, *Ancient Urban Maya,* 95–96.

21 Edward W. Soja, *Postmetropolis: Critical Studies of Cities and Regions* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), 8.

22 Anthony Kaldellis, *Romanland: Ethnicity and Empire in Byzantium* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2019), 275. For the political behaviour of towns and villagers as the embodiment of Romanness, see also Dimitris Krallis, "Popular Political Agency in Byzantium's Villages and Towns," *Byzantina Symmeikta* 28 (2018): 11–48, here at 45–47.

23 For the role of shared events and spaces in the formation of neighbourhoods, see Smith, "Introduction," 19–22; Hutson, *The Ancient Urban*, 84. For the role of Christian values in shaping notions of neighbourhood in medieval cities, see Gareth Dean, "Space for Neighbourhood: Social Identity and the Built Environment in Medieval York," in *Spatial Cultures: Towards a New Social Morphology*

of Cities Past and Present, ed. Sam Griffiths and Alexander von Lünen (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2016), 54–64.

24 On the variety of social interactions that need not be exclusively friendly but can involve competition and social tension: Smith, "The Archaeological Study," 150–151; Hutson, *Ancient Urban Maya,* 71; Yoffee, "Making Ancient Cities," 281.

25 John Bert Lott, *The Neighborhoods of Augustan Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Anderson, "Social Clustering."

26 Ivison, "Excavations," 78.

27 For the role of monuments and open spaces as neighbourhood focal points, see Magdalino, "Neighbourhoods," 26–27.

28 Helen G. Saradi, "The City in Byzantine Hagiography," in *The Ashgate Companion to Byzantine Hagiography, Volume II: Genres and Contexts*, ed. Stephanos Efthymiadis (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 419–452.

29 Ἐπετήδευσεν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ὁ ὅσιος, ὅτι καθότι ἐποίει τίποτε παράδοξον, εὐθέως ἤλασσεν τὴν γειτονίαν ἐκείνην, ἕως οὗ λησμονηθῇ τὸ πρᾶγμα, ὃ ἐποίησεν. ἔσπευδεν δὲ καὶ παραυτὰ σχηματίσασθαι ἄκαιρον τίποτε, ἵνα δι'ἐκείνου ἐπικαλύψῃ τὸ κατόρθωμα. Leontius of Neapolis, *Life of Symeon Salos*, in *Vie de Syméon le Fou et Vie de Jean de Chypre*, ed. A.-J. Festugière and Lennart Rydén, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 95 (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1974), 55–104, here at 81. "It was also the saint's practice, whenever he did something miraculous, to leave that neighbourhood immediately, until the deed which he had done was forgotten. He hurried on immediately elsewhere to do something inappropriate, so that he might thereby hide his perfection." Derek Krueger, *Symeon the Holy Fool: Leontius's Life and the Late Antique City* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 147.

30 Ibid.

31 See further Michel Kaplan and Eleonora Kountoura-Galaki, "Economy and Society in Byzantine Hagiography: *Realia* and Methodological Questions," in *The Ashgate Companion to Byzantine Hagiography, Volume II: Genres and Contexts*, ed. Stephanos Efthymiadis (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 389–418.

32 Bouras, "Aspects," 512.

33 Charles K. Williams II et al., "Frankish Corinth: 1997," *Hesperia* 67 (1998): 223–281, here at 226–27, 234.

34 Ivison, "Excavations," 45–49.

35 Clifford Ando, *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

36 Luca Zavagno, "The Unbearable Transience of the City: Urban Spaces in the Byzantine World in the Transition from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages (ca. 550–ca. 800 A.D.)," in *Transforming Sacred Spaces: New Approaches to Byzantine Ecclesiastical Architecture from the Transitional Period*, ed. Sabine Feist, Spätantike - Frühes Christentum - Byzanz 48 (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2020), 17–37, here at 22.

37 Alexander Kazhdan and Giles Constable, *People and Power in Byzantium: An Introduction to Modern Byzantine Studies* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1982), 34.

38 Arthur A. Joyce, "Theorizing Urbanism in Ancient Mesoamerica," *Ancient Mesoamerica* 20 (2009): 189–196. Smith, "Introduction," 2.

39 Anastasia Kontogiannopoulou, *Τοπικά συμβούλια στις Βυζαντινές πόλεις: Παράδοση και εξέλιξη (13ος–15ος αι.)* (Athens: Academy of Athens, 2015), 78, 80.

40 Ibid., 36–39, 58–78.

41 Gilbert Dagron, "The Urban Economy, Seventh-Twelfth Centuries," in *The Economic History of Byzantium*, ed. Angeliki E. Laiou (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2002), 385–453, here at 414–17. See also Krallis, "Political Agency," 19.

42 As argued by Anthony Kaldellis, *The Byzantine Republic: People and Power in New Rome* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015). See also Kontogiannopoulou, *Τοπικά συμβούλια,* 76.
43 Magdalino, "Neighbourhoods," 28.
44 Ibid., 139.
45 Yannis Smarnakis, "Thessaloniki during the Zealots' Revolt (1342–1350): Power, Political Violence and the Transformation of the Urban Space," *Scandinavian Journal of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 4 (2018): 119–148; here at 129 and 137.
46 James Crow calls these "exclusive circuits": "Fortifications," in *The Archaeology of Byzantine Anatolia: From the End of Late Antiquity to the Coming of the Turks*, ed. Philipp Niewohner (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 90–108.
47 Ine Jacobs, *Aesthetic Maintenance of Civic Space: The 'Classical' City from the 4th to the 7th c. AD* (Leuven: Peeters, 2013), 589–612.
48 Hugh Barnes and Mark Whittow, "The Oxford University/British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara Survey of Medieval Castles of Anatolia (1993). Yılanlı Kalesi: Preliminary Report and New Perspectives," *Anatolian Studies* 44 (1994): 187–206, here at 202–6.
49 Marcus Rautman, "Sardis," in *The Archaeology of Byzantine Anatolia: From Late Antiquity to the Coming of the Turks*, ed. Philipp Niewohner (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 231–237. George Pachymeres, *History*, XI.16; Albert Failler, ed., *Georges Pachymérès, Relations historiques*, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 24 (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1984–2000), IV.441–443.
50 Joanita Vroom and Fotini Kondyli, "'Dark Age' Butrint and Athens: Rewriting the History of Two Early Byzantine Towns," in *Medieval and Post-Medieval Ceramics in the Eastern Mediterranean*, ed. Joanita Vroom (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 317–342, here at 322–323.
51 See, e.g., Lott, *Neighborhoods.*
52 Eric R. Dusteler, *Venetians in Constantinople: Nation, Identity, and Coexistence in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), 152–158.
53 Halil İnalcik, *The Survey of Istanbul 1455: The Text, English Translation, Analysis of the Text, Documents* (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2012).

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Part I

Defining Byzantine neighbourhoods

1 The view from Byzantine texts

Albrecht Berger

Research on neighbourhoods in Byzantium on the basis of literary texts suffers mainly from two problems: the scarcity of information on the one hand, and the lack of a consistent terminology on the other hand. If we have any information at all, it comes almost exclusively from Constantinople, which will therefore stand at the centre of my investigation.

Constantinople was, from its foundation to the end of the twelfth century, the capital of a great empire and the centre of imperial administration. A part of its population was of course formed by officials and military persons who were sent to the provinces and recalled, and by merchants who regularly left the city and travelled. Most inhabitants, however, lived there permanently and spent their life not just within the walls of Constantinople but within a spatially limited neighbourhood, where they worked, did their everyday shopping, and went to church.

Constantinople was founded by Constantine the Great in 324 and inaugurated in 330.[1] Ancient Byzantium now formed its eastern-most part, and a big area, which was four or five times larger than the old Greek town, was added to the west. In the new part of the city, streets were laid out and terraces were built. New Constantinople was a planned city with straight streets and avenues,[2] with public buildings and churches constructed at prominent places, probably following some more or less uniform urbanistic concept – and it was also a city which was quickly filled by a very heterogenous population, even when it was still not much more than a monstrous construction site. It must have been a while before people felt comfortable there, that is, until the social and economic ties that develop with face-to-face interactions were established, and neighbourhoods formed where one could live in a more familiar, village-like environment.

My following remarks could not have been made without extensive reference to Paul Magdalino's recent article entitled "Neighbourhoods in Byzantine Constantinople."[3] I will try, however, to set other accents in my interpretation of the evidence, and will sometimes arrive at different conclusions.

The basic text from which all our considerations must start is the so-called *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*, which was composed in Latin around

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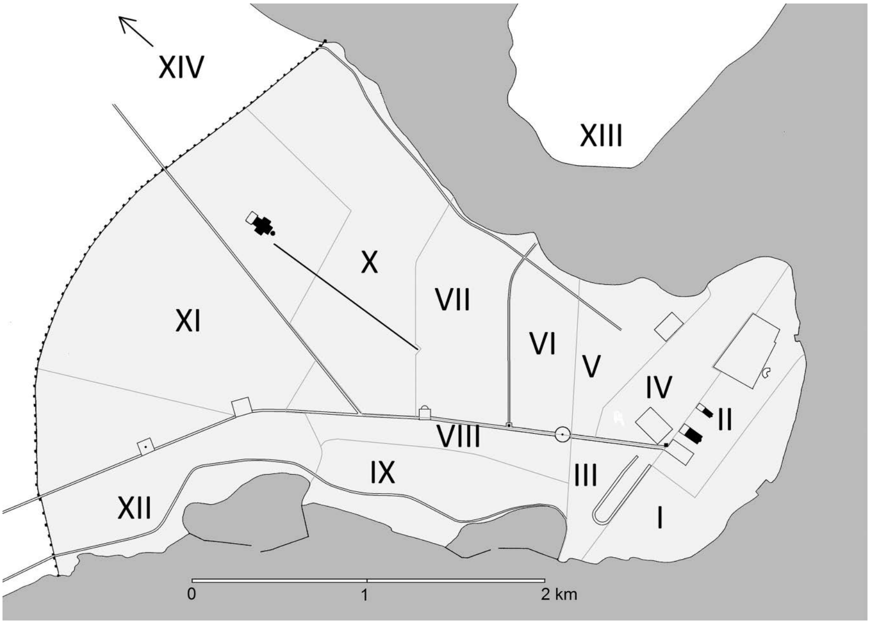

Figure 1.1 The regions of Constantinople. Image produced by the author.

425 AD.[4] It divides Constantinople into 14 regions (Figure 1.1) by analogy to Rome, lists its important buildings and monuments, and its 52 porticoed streets, 4,388 houses, and 322 *vici* (Table 1.1).

The word *vicus* apparently denotes some kind of residential area, and it has often been assumed that it refers to neighbourhoods as defined by Michael Smith: "a residential zone that has considerable face-to-face interaction and is distinctive on the basis of physical and/or social characteristics."[5] We will see later whether this can be the case or not. In the *Notitia*, every region had a chief officer, the *curator*, who probably had to report to the city prefect as the head of urban administration; his assistant, the *vernaculus*, whose functions are not clearly defined; and also, five night watchmen called the *vicomagistri*. This word actually means "master of a *vicus*" and is borrowed from Rome, where every region had 48 of them.[6]

There is, however, a big problem with terminology. After the *Notitia* was written, the use of Latin decreased in the East and ended almost completely by the mid-seventh century. Latin terms and designations of offices were either taken over as loanwords into Greek or replaced by more or less equivalent Greek words.

The regions of Constantinople are, in Michael Smith's definition, districts created by a top-down process.[7] They are hardly mentioned at all after the *Notitia* – one exception is the short entry about the great fire of 465 in the

Table 1.1 The regions of the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*

Regions	*Houses*	vici
I	118	29
II	98	34
III	94	7
IV	375	35
V	183	23
VI	484	22
VII	711	85
VIII	108	21
IX	117	16
X	636	20
XI	503	8
XII	363	11
XIII	431	–
XIV	167	11
Summary	4,388	322

seventh-century *Chronicon paschale*.[8] Here, as in other contexts outside of Constantinople, the word *regio* is rendered in Greek as *rhegeon*. In other texts, however, *regio* is translated by the Greek *geitonia*, a word which presumably means a much smaller unit, that is, a neighbourhood as defined above. The sixth-century Lexicon of Hesychios, for example, explains the ancient word *agyia* as "block of houses, lane, street, neighbourhood (*geitonia*)," but at the same time, it translates *rhegeonarios* as *geitoniarches*, thus equating their roots, *rhegeon* with *geitonia*.[9]

Rhegeon and *geitonia* are used interchangeably, without reference to Constantinople, as late as in the twelfth century.[10] On the other hand, the *geitoniai* in Ioannes Malalas' report about the street violence between Blues and Greens in the last years of Justinian are clearly not urban regions in the sense of the *Notitia*, but much smaller units marked by face-to-face interactions, as in the following two passages[11]:

> [The Greens] went to the Mese, to the neighbourhoods of the Blues, and stoned those they encountered, chanting: "Fire, fire! No Blue is to be seen here."
>
> While Zimarchos was city prefect, a disturbance in the neighbourhood of Mazentiolos occurred in this way. When the prefect Zimarchos sent some of the *comitarienses* to arrest a young man named Kaisarios, the inhabitants of the neighbourhood of Mazentiolos resisted them and mutilated many soldiers as well as many of the *comitarienses*.

Note that the neighbourhood of the second episode is named after a person. We will return to this phenomenon later.

The words *rhegeonarios* or *rhegeonarches* apparently replace the Latin *curator*, while the *vernaculus* and the *vicomagister* disappear completely from the sources. We may add as a footnote that Cassius Dio actually had translated the *vicomagister*, in his report about the introduction of this office in Augustan Rome, as *stenoparchos*,[12] but this newly coined word did not make it into the Byzantine texts.

In our next relevant document, the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos from 899, the *geitoniarchai* are mentioned in a list first as subordinates of the city prefect, and later as subordinates rather of the *demarchoi*, that is of the leaders of the Blue and Green factions.[13] They are invited to the Christmas and Easter banquets, and on the latter occasion, their number is given as 12.[14] This implies that they took the place of the *curatores*, not of the *vicomagistri*, and that a corresponding number of regions existed in Constantinople in this age. In fact, the regions XIII and XIV of the *Notitia* had been outside both the Constantinian and Theodosian walls and no longer formed a part of the city.[15] Since the space between these walls had not yet been taken into account by the *Notitia*, we may assume that the remaining 12 regions were later modified to include this part of the city.

In the time of the *Kletorologion*, however, it seems that the *geitoniarchai* had lost their function in urban administration and played a role only in the court ceremonial. They are missing from the "Book of the Eparch," a contemporaneous work where the office of the prefect is described,[16] and a second passage of the *Kletorologion* lists them as subordinates of the two *demarchoi*, together with poets, singers, charioteers, and others.[17]

In the "Book of Ceremonies," by contrast, the *geitoniarchai* are always subordinates of the *demarchoi* and two in number, one for each faction.[18] In any case, it is clear that neither in the *Kletorologion* nor in the "Book of Ceremonies" do the *geitoniarchai* have anything to do with the administration of *geitoniai*. One list in the *Kletorologion* also mentions the "judges of the regions," the *kritai ton regeonon*, who may actually have served in the 12 regions of their age.[19]

The only source which defines the duties of a *geitoniarches* as the "supervisor of a neighbourhood" in the literal sense of the word is the tenth-century *Life of Saint Gregentios of Taphar*, a fictitious person presented as the missionary of the Homerites in present-day Yemen, and dated to the sixth century.[20] According to this text, Gregentios gave laws to the Homerites, that is, to the inhabitants of their capital, Taphar. These laws have nothing to do with southern Arabia, although this is still claimed by several researchers.[21] Instead, Taphar is depicted as a kind of idealized Christian capital, which imitates and even surpasses Constantinople.

In this text, Taphar is divided not into 12, but into 36 *rhegeones* or *geitoniai* (the words are used interchangeably), each administered by a *geitoniarches*.[22] The *geitoniarches* is the person responsible in the *geitonia* to whom all evil and unlawful things have to be reported. He has the right to punish transgressions of the law, confiscate the property of wrongdoers, and to banish them from the city. He has his own police troop and distributes confiscated property or goods among its members, keeping a part for himself.[23] The *geitoniarches* has "to look in various ways upon the things that happen in the houses," and if he notices any transgression, he has to inform the landlord who must correct the matter on the spot. If the landlord refuses to do so, the *geitoniarches* is obliged to denounce him to the city prefect.[24] Also, the *geitoniarches* has to invite persons to come who do not attend church services. If they do not obey, their property shall be divided between the poor and the *geitoniarches* and his men.[25] Finally, the *geitoniarches* has to inspect the markets in his jurisdiction, paying special attention to the foreign merchants, and controlling the prices.[26]

The *geitoniarches* appears in this text as a subordinate official, whose task is to implement the orders of the city prefect on a lower, local level. But his duty is also to control the population and to spy on people, just like the *Blockwart* in Nazi Germany or the infamous "keeper of the house book" in the GDR.

In much later texts from the Palaiologan age, the word *geitonia* is used interchangeably with *enoria*, which means "parish," or sometimes with *demarchia*, which means the area under a *demarchos* or district mayor. Patriarchal documents from the fourteenth century speak, on the one hand, of ten *geitoniai* in Constantinople with between 28 and 79 priests.[27] But on the other hand, the few *geitoniai* that are mentioned by name clearly refer to much smaller areas, that is, to single parishes with no more than one or two priests.[28]

The question now is how this late Byzantine evidence can be related to the early Byzantine urban administration as described by the *Notitia*. About this Paul Magdalino said:[29]

> What the ten urban *geitoniai* of 14th-century Constantinople did have in common with the 14 regions of the 5th-century *Notitia* was their size and the fact that both were conceived primarily as administrative units. For both these reasons, one may question whether they were the real neighbourhoods of Byzantine Constantinople: the urban spaces where its inhabitants felt at home as natural extensions of their domestic space. The definition of such spaces is by nature subjective and variable, but it is reasonable to posit that in a fully built-up area of apartment buildings, they would consist of a block or two and the surrounding streets. Neighbourhoods of these dimensions clearly did exist in Byzantium, and were recognised as such. It is possible that they feature in the *Notitia* of Theodosius II, as the 322 *vici* …

Is it really possible that the vici of the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* were, in their times, the neighbourhoods we are looking for? Let us return to this text, and look more closely at the information it supplies about the houses (*domus*) and *vici*.[30]

The first step must be to estimate the surface of every region so that the density of settlement can be calculated from the given number of houses. In the following discussion, regions XIII and XIV of the *Notitia* will be disregarded since their dimensions are unknown and they no longer formed a part of Constantinople in later times.

It is no surprise that the bustling commercial regions IV, V, VI, VII, and X, which face the Golden Horn, were most densely settled. In regions VI and VII alone, almost a third of the city's houses stood on about 12% of its overall surface. By contrast, the *vici*, whose number is about a 12th of that of the houses, are distributed so unevenly over the regions that they cannot have covered the whole area of Constantinople within the walls, and can in no way have been a regular subdivision of the regions.

There is, therefore, no support for Alfons Maria Schneider's suggestive hypothesis from 1950, namely, that the basic structure of the city remained unchanged deep into the Ottoman age, and that the 12 regions with 311 *vici* in the *Notitia* correspond to the 12 *semt* with 247 *mahalle* in eighteenth-century Istanbul.[31] This is a pity, for this is the kind of urban structure we may have hoped for, and a *mahalle* is exactly a neighbourhood in Smith's sense – a clearly defined area of manageable size, centred around a mosque or a public fountain, and with its own night watchman (the *bekçi*).

In contrast to this, the *vici* of the *Notitia* are defined in the text itself as *vici sive angiportus*, that is, "*vici* or narrow lanes."[32] This makes sense only if some sort of residential area is intended, but of what kind and social status can it have been? One possible assumption is that the *vici* consisted of multi-storey, though rather poor, houses arranged around a narrow street or courtyard, resembling the overcrowded working-class neighbourhoods of nineteenth-century Europe. But a look into the *Notitia* shows that the *vici* are not concentrated at the places where we should expect them if that were the case.

Compared to the number of houses, the number of *vici* is by far highest in regions I and II, which must have enjoyed a high social status because the emperor's palace and government buildings stood there. In fact, the ratio of *vici* to houses is roughly 1:4 in region I, and 1:3 in region II. In the other parts of the city, the number of *vici* relative to houses is highest in region VIII, apparently another "good" housing area on the less densely settled southern side of the main street, the *Mese*.[33] The *vici* should therefore rather be interpreted as compounds of high-class residential buildings, probably with the access guarded by sentinels. If this hypothesis is correct, then the number of *vici* should be added to the number of *domus* to produce a total number of "houses," and the *vici* are definitely not residential areas or neighbourhoods.

Another way of describing urban areas of Constantinople was to use a point of reference or, as Paul Magdalino called it, a "focal unit"[34] which usually bore the name of a previous proprietor or developer.

In the early Byzantine age, the names of such points of reference were mostly derived from the eponym by adding the Latin suffix -*ianae*, or in

Greek *ianai*, which is the feminine plural of the adjectival suffix *ianus* or *ianos*. The *Notitia* uses the names ending in *ianae* always together with the word *thermae*, which denotes great public baths, such as the *thermae Arcadianae* or *Honorianae*.[35] In other sources, however, names with *ianai* can refer to other kinds of buildings: the *Helenianai*, for example, was a palace which Constantine's mother Helena had built outside the fourth-century city walls.[36] Of the approximately 20 names in Constantinople which were formed in this way, only the *Arkadianai*, the *Konstantianai*, and the *Sophianai* survived into the middle ages.[37]

In later texts, such as the *Patria of Constantinople*[38] or the *Synaxar*,[39] the names of places – the *topoi* or *topothesiai* – were instead formed by the neuter article *ta* plus a personal name in the genitive form, like *ta Lausou, ta Kyrou*, and many others.[40] But it is often unclear whether a substantive in nominative should be supplemented, and if so, which one. The object in question could be a rather modest single building or a big complex of buildings, a palace or a monastery. And there is no evidence to support Magdalino's assumption that these units normally "took the basic form of a tetragonal complex of buildings surrounding a central courtyard, and were flanked by streets on at least two sides."[41]

In the *Synaxar* these toponyms were very often used to describe the location of churches, for example, the Mother of God at *ta Eugeniou*, or Saint Theodore at *ta Sphorakiou*. But the preposition used in this context is either *eis, en,* or *plesion* without a difference in meaning – which means that the vicinity of the church to *topos* is indicated and not, as it has traditionally been assumed, that the church was within the *topos*. A name like *ta Maurianou* or *ta Bassou*, therefore, certainly refers to a house or palace, and not to a whole quarter within which other buildings are also located.

In fact, Raymond Janin, in his well-known reference works, divided Constantinople into a large number of *quartiers* on the basis of the traditional assumption.[42] But these *quartiers* were, again, of very different size and seemed often to overlap. This is easily explained, for if a building lay in a densely inhabited area in the vicinity of more than one focal unit, it could be described alternatively in reference to any of them. In the city centre near the Forum of Constantine, for example, the same church of the Anargyroi is one time called *en tois Basiliskou*, another time *en tois Dareiou*, while the church of Saint Barbara appears either *en tois Basilisku* or *en to Artotyriano topo*.[43] If we assume that *ta Basilisku*, *ta Dareiou* and the *Artotyrianos topos* were not only buildings but complete city quarters, then there are only two possibilities: either we are talking here about two different churches of the Anargyroi and two churches of Saint Barbara or the quarters mentioned had to overlap (Figure 1.2).

Most difficulties, which arise if the appellations with *ta* plus names in genitive refer to city quarters, actually disappear if we accept that the usual system of topographical reference in Constantinople was rather based on single focal points or units. If these focal units served to describe objects of any

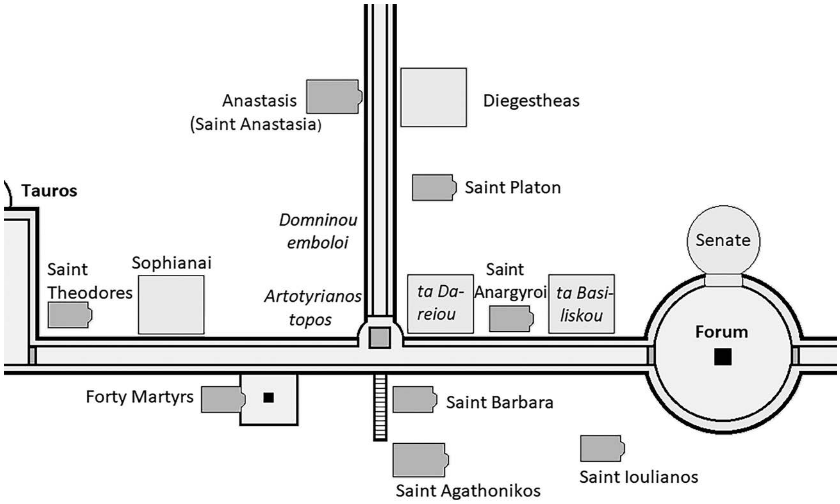

Figure 1.2 Focal units near the Forum of Constantine. Redrawn after Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 310.

kind in their vicinity, they could also, of course, define a neighbourhood – but again one which had no clear borders and was never, in the sources, called a *geitonia*. Also, we can observe that there is no obvious hierarchy of names, nor a rule to determine which focal point will be more prominent and give its name to a nearby object in densely populated sections of the city packed with monuments and elite complexes.

It seems, therefore, that administrative subdivisions of the city did not play a central role in people's perception of their city's topography. Neighbourhoods in the social sense certainly existed, but their borders (if indeed they had borders) were flexible.

Paul Magdalino has collected literary evidence from the tenth to twelfth centuries for the phenomenon he calls "neighbourhood mentality."[44] During an attempted coup d'état in 1056, the insurgent marched on the Great Palace from his house near the Leomakellion at the head of "his relations, his slaves and others who served him in any way, many of his neighbours and some of his acquaintances."[45] Both John Geometres and Christophoros Mitylenaios in their poems warned certain adversaries against showing up at *ta Kyrou* and *ta Protasiou*, that is, in the neighbourhoods defined by these places.[46] And Ioannes Tzetzes, finally, complains in his letters to the abbot of the Pantokrator Monastery not only about the behaviour of the monks but also of his neighbours in the three-storey house where he lived, which indicates that this house was very near to the monastery.[47] Elsewhere he mentions the shopkeepers at the Leomakellon and the bath at *ta Areobindou*,[48] which were both within a short walking distance, as Paul Magdalino remarks.[49] But these two places actually lay about 400 m from the monastery in opposite directions,[50] so far away that they cannot be regarded as part of the same neighbourhood.

Obviously, these authors speak about neighbourhoods in the social sense of face-to-face interaction, but there is no explicit term by which they call them. These neighbourhoods are defined only by their focal unit and do not consist of a clearly demarcated area.

We can assume that such focal units had more importance for the people if they did not just consist of an old aristocratic house, but if there was also a church connected to it, or if it had been converted to a charitable institution over the centuries. If John Geometres and Christophoros Mitylenaios, for example, speak of *ta Kyrou* and *ta Protasiou*, they certainly do not mean the old houses of Kyros and Protasios, but the churches of the Mother of God which stood at these places and defined a neighbourhood. As a result, the former neighbourhoods developed, over time, into parishes – or, the other way around, parish churches began to define and name neighbourhoods instead of former aristocratic houses.

It often happened that an aristocratic house,[51] which had been named after its founder centuries ago, was later sold to another family or confiscated by the state, and used for other than residential purposes. The tenth-century *Patria of Constantinople* mentions a number of cases in which a church, or a bath, or both were added to an old house by its new owner. In most cases, although this is not always expressly stated, the new owner converted the building into a monastery, a hospital, or a home for old people, or added such a home to it.[52] A good example is *ta Areobindou* where, as it seems, Ioannes Tzetzes used to take his baths. Here the *Patria* says[53]:

> Petros, the *magister* and *kouropalates* and brother of emperor Maurikios, built the most holy Mother of God *ta Areobindou*, because the house of Areobindos, from which the place took its name, was there in the time of the most mighty Justin the Thracian. And the church and the bath were built 92 years after this Areobindos.

Sometimes it is even said that the house itself was turned into a bath or a church; but such statements are probably the result of excessive abbreviation of sources that, in most cases, have not survived.

A complex that consisted of a church, a home for old people, and a public bath for the use of the people of the surrounding area, all operated by the clergy of the church or by monks of a small monastery – such an institution of public welfare, with a widely visible church as its centre with access to a large number of people, is the perfect focal unit for a neighbourhood in the social sense, where the people could feel safe and were looked after by a local authority. But again, it is only the focal unit and does not define a clearly circumscribed area.

Another, more special case of possible neighbourhoods in Constantinople is represented by the quarters where ethnic minorities and foreign merchants were forced to live. Again, as there is no archaeological evidence for these quarters, we rely exclusively on literary sources for our knowledge of them.

The oldest ethnic minority in Constantinople, which could not so easily be integrated into Christian society, were the Jews, whose presence is already attested for in the fourth century.[54] Massive legal discrimination against Jews had already begun in this age, but there is no evidence for a long time that they had to live in separate quarters or neighbourhoods. Only in the eleventh century do we hear from a Jewish author, Bar-Hebraeus, that the strong immigration of Jews and other ethnic groups prompted Emperor Constantine Monomachos to expel them all from the city by a law issued in 1044.[55] Most of the Jews apparently settled just outside the sea walls on the shore of the Golden Horn, as suggested by the mention of an "old Jewish wharf" by Anna Komnene one century later.[56] But already in 1061, the Jews were forced to leave this site as well, and went to Pera on the northern side of the Golden Horn.[57] After their temporary expulsion during the reign of the Crusaders, they returned to Constantinople in 1261, and settled in a new quarter, again outside the walls, this time in the Vlanga region on the southern side of the city (Figure 1.3).[58]

We have no information about the appearance of these settlements, but it is likely that each was surrounded by a wall and had a gate which was closed at night – at least this was the case in the late thirteenth century when the Arab traveller Hadji Abdallah describes the quarters of the Jews and Muslims in this way.[59] Benjamin of Tudela mentions that already around 1165, in the Jewish settlement of Pera the quarters of the Rabbanites and Karaïtes were separated by a dividing wall.[60] In his time, there were 2,500 Jews in Constantinople, a settlement too large to be defined as a neighbourhood in the social sense.

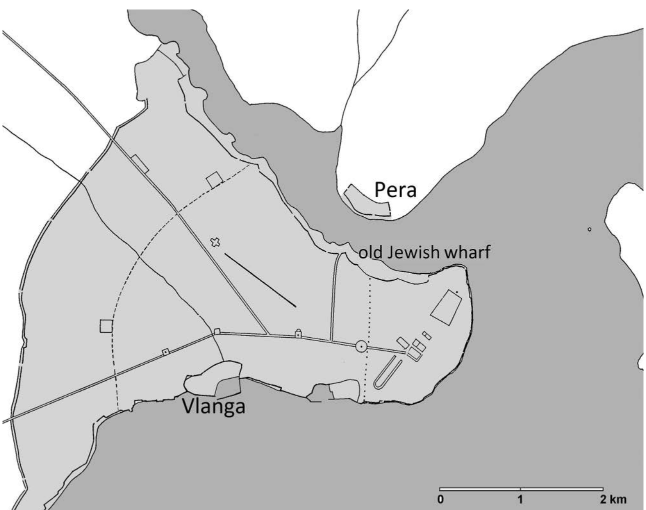

Figure 1.3 The Jewish quarters of Constantinople. Image produced by the author.

Foreign merchants had also been accommodated in separate buildings or complexes of buildings at least since the tenth century, when the Rus (Russians) were installed in the old palace of Saint Mamas on the Bosporos: a former summer residence which had been abandoned by the emperors sometime before.[61] Beginning in the late eleventh century, we find first the Venetians,[62] and then, in the twelfth century, also the Pisans and Genoese in their so-called concessions, that is, in special zones near the harbours on the Golden Horn which were assigned to them (Figure 1.4).

The first of these concessions was granted in 1082 to the Venetians, but the document describing its exact extent is lost. We know only from Anna Komnene that it extended from the "old Jewish wharf" to somewhere below the Vigla, a hill in the region of the present İstanbul University, and that three wharves belonged to it.[63] A later document from 1148 mentions some buildings which allow us to fix their size more exactly. The concession was about 300 m wide along the Golden Horn shore, while its extension uphill cannot be determined.[64] The overall area may have been as big as 50,000 square meters.[65] In the concession, a church was handed over to the Venetians, as well as a central administrative building called the *embolos*. But although the concession must have had a clearly defined border, it was in no way separated from the rest of the city, and the main street, the so-called *makros embolos*, ran through it.[66] We should assume that only some public buildings were ceded to the Venetians and that the merchants simply received the right to rent or buy houses in the region. In other words, there was

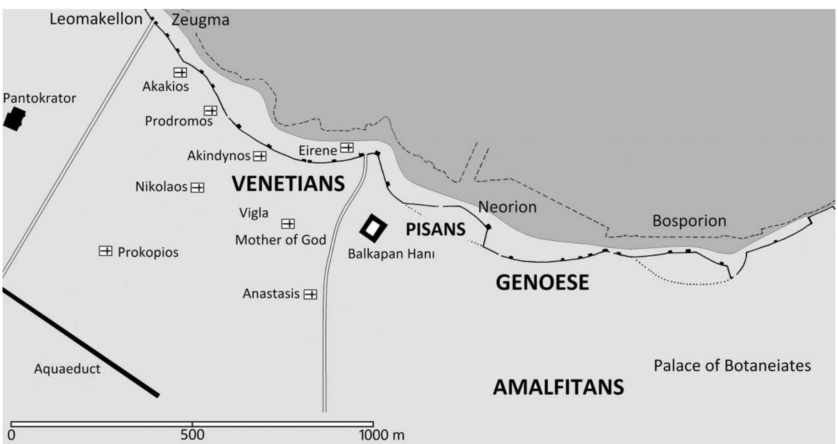

Figure 1.4 The Italian quarters of Constantinople. Redrawn after Berger, "Topographie", 151 and 160. The sketch shows the approximate location of the quarters, with the important churches and the old harbours of Neorion and Bosporion, which were already silted up at that time. The substructure of the Balkapan Hanı is the only monument in this area which may go back to pre-Ottoman times.

no Venetian colony that formed a homogenous neighbourhood – or a group of such neighbourhoods – where only Venetian-speaking western Christians lived. This must also have been the case when the concession was enlarged in 1189,[67] or when Venice occupied, as a result of the Fourth Crusade, a large zone that included three-eighths of the whole city.[68]

The regulations for the concessions of the other Italian cities were similar, such as the one for Pisa from 1111 and from 1169 for Genoa. The Pisan concession lay to the east of the Venetian one,[69] and the Genoese concession was first established across the Golden Horn in Pera, but later transferred to Constantinople proper, to a place near the other concessions.[70] A second treaty with Genoa from 1192 describes this concession as consisting of three separate units: a wharf on the Golden Horn, the main area near the Neorion harbour, also on the Golden Horn, and the so-called palace of Botaneiates, which seems not to have been adjacent to the other parts.[71] Again, this shows us that the concessions were not closed units, but open to the public, and did not function as neighbourhoods.

The palace of Botaneiates, judging from its name, was probably founded by Nikephoros Botaneiates, emperor from 1078 to 1081, and had later belonged to Konstantinos or Kalamanos, a pretender to the Hungarian throne who lived in Constantinople in exile. When it was given to the Genoese, it was already in a state of noble decay, as its description in the treaty shows (Figure 1.5). It was a building complex on several terraces on a slope which were connected by steps, and of which one part rose on high substructures.

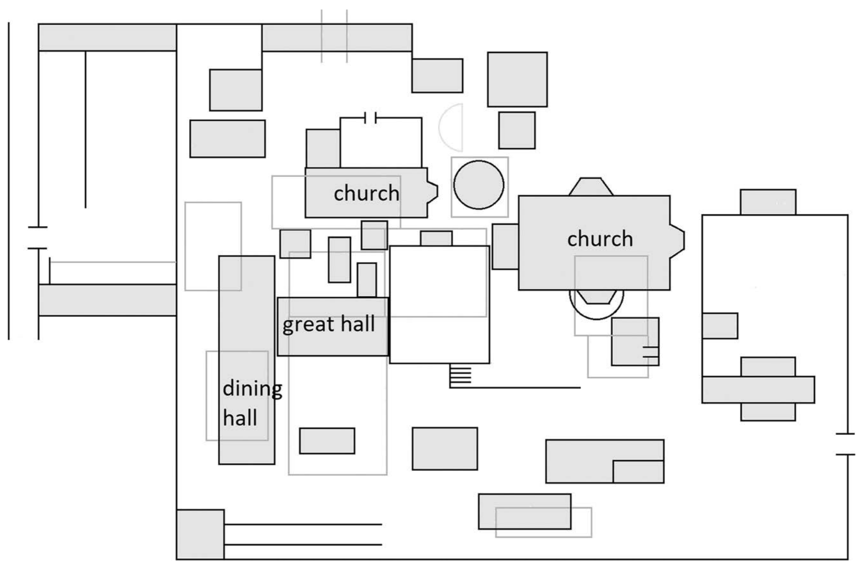

Figure 1.5 The palace of Botaneiates. Redrawn after Angold, "Inventory". Image produced by the author.

The area was surrounded by a wall and contained two churches, a number of houses, pavilions, halls, and cisterns.

This is a typical middle-Byzantine aristocratic house, one of those structures which in older times would have borne a name formed by *ta* with a personal name in the genitive form, and which often formed, as we have seen, the centre or focal unit of the neighbourhood around it.

To conclude, there were, of course, neighbourhoods in Constantinople from its foundation down to the Ottoman conquest. Texts often allude to them and sometimes also describe them, but Byzantine texts do not consistently use a word or a grammatical construction to denote neighbourhoods in Smith's sense. Nevertheless, it is possible to understand from reading texts on how people thought about the residential zones in which they lived. While the social neighbourhoods in Smith's sense were mostly centred on focal points, had no fixed boundaries, and could overlap, other units such as ethnic quarters and the concessions for foreign merchants in the middle and late Byzantine age were clearly circumscribed, either literally walled in or defined by treaty.

Notes

1 For the foundation of Constantinople, see still the standard work by Gilbert Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale: Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451*, Bibliothèque byzantine 7 (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1974).

2 For a tentative reconstruction of the street layout in the early Byzantine era, see Albrecht Berger, "Regionen und Straßen im frühen Konstantinopel," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 47 (1997): 349–414.

3 Paul Magdalino, "Neighbourhoods in Byzantine Constantinople," in *Hinter den Mauern und auf dem offenen Land: Neue Forschungen zum Leben im byzantinischen Reich*, ed. Falko Daim and Jörg Drauschke, Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident 3 (Mainz: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, 2016), 23–30.

4 "Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae", in *Notitia dignitatum*, ed. Otto Seeck (Berlin: Weidmann, 1876), 229–243. For a German translation with commentary, see Berger, "Regionen und Straßen," 356–387. For an English translation with commentary, see John Matthews, "Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae," in *Two Romes: Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity*, ed. Lucy Grig and Gavin Kelly (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 81–115. See also Dimitris P. Drakoulis, "The Functional Organization of Early Byzantine Constantinople, According to Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae," in *Openness: Studies in Honour of Vasiliki Papoulia*, ed. Theodoros Korres, Panagiotis Doukellis, Spyridon Sfetas and Fotini I. Toloudi (Thessaloniki: Vanias, 2012), 153–182.

5 Michael E. Smith, "The Archaeological Study of Neighborhoods and Districts in Ancient Cities," *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 29 (2010): 137–154, here at 139.

6 See Jean-Marc Flambard, "Collegia compitalicia: phénomène associatif, cadres territoriaux et cadres civiques dans le monde romain à l'époque républicaine," *Ktema* 6 (1981): 143–66; John R. Clarke, *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans: Visual Representation and Non-Elite Viewers in Italy, 100 B.C. – A.D. 315* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 81–85.

7 Smith, "Archaeological Study," 139.

8 *Chronicon paschale*, ed. Ludwig Dindorf (Bonn: Weber, 1832), 595, 1–3. The burned region is also described by Evagrios: *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius*, ed. Joseph Bidez and Léon Parmentier (London: Methuen, 1898), 64, 16–65, 18; who describes its dimensions by mentioning the Bosporion and an old temple of Apollo in the north, the harbour of Julian and the church of Homonoia in the south.
9 *Hesychii Alexandrini lexicon*, ed. Kurt Latte (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1953–66), Lemma α 853.
10 See Magdalino, "Neighbourhoods," 24.
11 *Ioannis Malalae chronographia*, ed. Ioannes Thurn, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 35 (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 2000), 18, 132, 12–13; 18, 151, 1 and 4. The events can be dated to 559 and 563, respectively. Translation from: Elizabeth Jeffreys, Michael Jeffreys, Roger Scott et al., *The Chronicle of John Malalas: A Translation*, Byzantina Australiensia 4 (Melbourne: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 1986), 299 and 305, slightly adapted – in the first episode *geitonia* is rendered there as "residential quarters," in the second as "quarter."
12 *Cassii Dionis Cocceiani historiarum Romanarum quae supersunt*, ed. Ursulus Philippus Boussevain (Berlin: Weidmann, 1895–1901), 55, 8, 7; cf. Matthews, "Notitia," 87 n. 21.
13 Edited in Nicolas Oikonomides, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IXe et Xe siècles* (Paris: Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1972), 139, 31 and 123, 28.
14 Ibid., 161, 2, and 171, 6 and 8.
15 Berger, "Regionen," 373–4; Matthews, "Notitia," 110–112.
16 *Das Eparchenbuch Leons des Weisen*, ed. Johannes Koder, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 33 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1991).
17 Oikonomides, *Les listes de préséance*, 161, 4.
18 Le Livre des cérémonies, ed. Gilbert Dagron and Bernard Flusin, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 52 (Paris, Association des Amis du Centre d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance 2020), I 63, 5. 34. 36; I 65, 13; II 55, 25–26. 199–200.
19 Oikonomides, *Les listes de préséance*, 113, 17.
20 *Life and Works of Saint Gregentios, Archbishop of Taphar*, ed. Albrecht Berger, Millennium Studies 7 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2006).
21 Ibid., 83–91; see now Charis Messis, "La famille et ses enjeux dans l'organisation de la cité idéale chrétienne: le cas des Lois des 'Homérites,' "in *Les réseaux familiaux, antiquité tardive et Moyen Âge*, ed. Béatrice Caseau, ACHCByz Monographies 37 (Paris: ACHCByz, 2012), 207–240; and Vassilios Christides, "The Himyarite Kingdom on the Eve of and after the Ethiopian Dominance in the Sixth Century A.D. in the Martyrdom of St. Arethas and his Companions and in the Acts of St. Gregentius," *Journal for Semitics* 24 (2015): 678–700. For a more detailed discussion of these laws, see the chapter by Leonora Neville below.
22 *Life and Works of Saint Gregentios*, ch. 10.54–60.
23 Ibid., Nomoi, 20–30. 44–54. 189–200.
24 Ibid., Nomoi, 433–436.
25 Ibid., Nomoi, 476–485.
26 Ibid., Nomoi, 465–471.
27 Magdalino, "Neighbourhoods," 24–26.
28 Ibid., 26.
29 Ibid., 26.
30 I follow here the method introduced by Benjamin Anderson, "Social Clustering in 5th-c. Constantinople: The Evidence of the Notitia," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 29 (2016): 494–508.

31 Alfons Maria Schneider, "Regionen und Quartiere in Konstantinopel," in *Kleinasien und Byzanz*, ed. Kurt Bittel, Istanbuler Forschungen 17 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1950), 149–158; a comparison between the regions of the Notitia and the present-day *mahalle* can be found in Drakoulis, "Functional Organization," 157–165.
32 "Notitia," 230. Matthews, "Notitia," 87 translates as "streets or alleys".
33 See Anderson, "Social Clustering."
34 Magdalino, "Neighbourhoods." 26.
35 "Notitia," 230 and 233.
36 On which see Albrecht Berger, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinupoleos*, Poikila Byzantina 8 (Bonn: Habelt, 1988), 606.
37 In the *Patria* (see the following note) I 52 and I 27; I 71, III 55 and 64; III 37.
38 Edited by Theodor Preger, *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, vol. II (Leipzig: Teubner, 1907); German translation and commentary by Berger, *Untersuchungen*; text and English translation by Albrecht Berger, *Accounts of Medieval Constantinople: the Patria*, Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library 24 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013).
39 *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, ed. Hippolyte Delehaye, Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris (Brussels: Societas Bollandiana, 1902).
40 Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 168–169.
41 Magdalino, "Neighbourhoods," 27.
42 Raymond Janin, *Constantinople byzantine: Développement urbain et répertoire topographique*, Archives de l'Orient chrétien 4A (^{2}Paris: Institut Français d'Études Byzantines, 1964) 304–443.
43 Anargyroi: *Theophanis Chronographia*, 243, 20–1; *Anthologia graeca*, I 11; *Patria*, III 123; *Synaxarium*, 185, 17–18. 660, 4–5. 883, 8–9. 886, 2–3. – Barbara: *Synaxarium*, 278, 26–28; *Patria*, II 25.
44 Magdalino, "Neighbourhoods," 28; only a selection of his examples will be quoted here.
45 *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis historiarum*, ed. Ioannes Thurn, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 5 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1973), 481; *John Skylitzes: A Synopsis of Byzantine History 811–1057*, trans. John Wortley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 449. See also Paul Magdalino, "The Byzantine Aristocratic Oikos," in *The Byzantine Aristocracy: IX–XIII Centuries*, ed. Michael Angold, BAR 221 (Oxford: BAR, 1984), 92–111; here at 96–97.
46 *Spicilegium Geometreum* II, ed. Ioannes Sajdak, *Eos* 33 (1930–31), 530–534; here at 530–531. *The Poems of Christopher of Mytilene and John Mauropous*, ed. and trans. Floris Bernard and Christopher Livanos, Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library 50 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018), no. 31.12; cf. also no. 114. 131.
47 *Ioannis Tzetzae epistulae,* ed. Petrus Aloisius M. Leone (Leipzig: Teubner, 1972), no. 74–75, 31–34.
48 *Scholia in Aristophanem* IV/2, ed. Willem J. W. Koster (Groningen: Bouma, 1960), 541. For the location of *ta Areobindou* see Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 512–513.
49 Magdalino, "Neighbourhoods," 28.
50 For the location of the Leomakellon, see Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 515–516; Albrecht Berger, "Zur Topographie der Ufergegend am Goldenen Horn in der byzantinischen Zeit," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 45 (1995): 149–165, here at 154–155; Paul Magdalino, "The Maritime Neighborhoods of Constantinople: Commercial and Residential Functions, Sixth to Twelfth Centuries," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 54 (2000): 209–227, here at 221.
51 On which see, in general, Magdalino, "Aristocratic Oikos."
52 *Patria*, III 59. 62. 63. 72. 73. 94. 97. 105. 106. 108. 121. 141.
53 *Patria*, III 59.

54 David Jacoby, "The Jews of Constantinople and their Demographic Hinterland," in *Constantinople and its Hinterland: Papers from the Twenty-Seventh Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Oxford, April 1993*, ed. Cyril Mango and Gilbert Dagron, Publications of the Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies 3 (Aldershot: Variorum, 1995), 221–232, here at 221–222.
55 Ibid., 224; David Jacoby, "Les quartiers juifs de Constantinople à l'époque byzantine," *Byzantion* 37 (1967): 167–227, here at 168–175.
56 *Annae Comnenae Alexias*, 6. 5. 10.
57 Jacoby, "Quartiers juifs," 175–189.
58 Ibid., 189–196.
59 Mehmed Izzeddin, "Un texte arabe inédit sur Constantinople byzantine," *Journal asiatique* 246 (1958): 453–457; Jacoby, "Quartiers juifs," 190–192. See also Carole Hillenbrand, "Medieval Muslim Views of Constantinople," in *World Christianity in Muslim Encounter: Essays in Memory of David A. Kerr*, ed. Stephen C. Goodwin vol. 2 (London: Continuum, 2009), 71–83; here at 79.
60 *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela* (Malibu: Joseph Simon, 1983), 72.
61 See Jules Pargoire, "Saint-Mamas, le quartier des Russes à Constantinople," *Échos d'Orient* 71 (1908): 203–210; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 697.
62 Donald M. Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice: A Study in Diplomatic and Cultural Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 59–67; Thomas F. Madden, "The Chrysobull of Alexius I Comnenus to the Venetians: The Date and the Debate," *Journal of Medieval History* 28 (2002): 199–204; Peter Frankopan, "Byzantine Trade Privileges to Venice in the Eleventh Century: The Chrysobull of 1092," *Journal of Medieval History* 30 (2004): 135–160; see also Magdalino, "Maritime Neighborhoods," 222–226.
63 See David Jacoby, "The Venetian Quarter of Constantinople From 1082 to 1261: Topographical Considerations," in *Novum Millennium: Studies on Byzantine History and Culture Dedicated to Paul Speck, 19 December 1999*, ed. Claudia Sode and Sarolta Takács (Aldershot: Variorum, 2001), 153–70; here at 155–156.
64 Jacoby, "Venetian Quarter," 156–157.
65 On the size of the concessions, see Peter Schreiner, "Untersuchungen zu den Niederlassungen westlicher Kaufleute im byzantinischen Reich des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 7 (1979): 175–191.
66 Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 442–444.
67 Jacoby, "Venetian Quarter," 159.
68 Ibid., 160–7; David Jacoby, "The Venetian Government and Administration in Latin Constantinople, 1204–1261: A State Within a State," in *Quarta crociata: Venezia – Bisanzio – Impero Latino*, I, ed. Gherardo Ortalli, Giorgio Ravegnani, and Peter Schreiner (Venice: Istituto Veneto, 2006), 19–79; here at 36–42.
69 Silvia Borsari, "Pisani a Bisanzio nel XII secolo," *Bollettino Storico Pisano* 60 (1991): 59–75; David Jacoby, "Pisan Presence and Trade in Late Byzantium," in *Koinotaton Doron: Das späte Byzanz zwischen Machtlosigkeit und kultureller Blüte*, ed. Albrecht Berger, Sergei Mariev, Günter Prinzing, and Alexander Riehle, Byzantinisches Archiv 31 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016), 47–59.
70 Gerald W. Day, "Manuel and the Genoese: A Reappraisal of Byzantine Commercial Policy in the Late 12th Century," *Journal of Economic History* 37 (1977): 289–301.
71 See Michael Angold, "Inventory of the So-Called Palace of Botaneiates," in *The Byzantine Aristocracy: IX–XIII Centuries*, ed. Michael Angold, BAR 221 (Oxford: BAR, 1984), 254–266.

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2 The view from Byzantine archaeology

Fotini Kondyli

What is a neighbourhood?[1]

> One must in the future try to isolate domestic habitation that had been restricted in use to the Greek population; such habitation might be identifiable if one were to compare the statistics for various types of pottery recovered from different areas within the city. A prime area to focus upon, if possible, would be a closely grouped Greek quarter around an Orthodox church.[2]

In this quote, Charles Williams, Director Emeritus of the Corinth excavations, describes how he imagines the spatial and social organization of Frankish Corinth. Although he does not explicitly mention neighbourhoods, he reproduces in this quote a recurrent image of them in scholarship: materially distinct and thus easily identifiable spatial and social units, with a strong degree of homogeneity based on ethnic, religious, economic, or other characteristics, organized around a focal point, preferably a monumental structure such as a church that speaks to the distinct identity of the city's different groups.[3]

Instead of searching for rigid social and spatial criteria for defining neighbourhoods that end up masking the variety and complexity of social and spatial configurations that both create and define them, we can follow Michael Smith's idea of the neighbourhood as an open system with varying degrees of homogeneity and connectivity, where spaces and social processes do not fit perfectly with each other but overlap.[4] Such a definition recognizes neighbourhoods as spaces of frequent, face-to-face interaction and similar conditions of residence and shared local facilities.[5]

Based on such approaches to neighbourhoods, the aim of this paper is to offer a more complex and yet "flexible" image of Byzantine neighbourhoods that does not easily conform to rigid expectations of spatial and social organization. Using Middle Byzantine Athens as an example and relying mainly on the excavation results of the Athenian Agora, I explore how archaeology can contribute to an in-depth examination of the relations between social processes and spatial forms in Byzantine neighbourhoods.

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I start with a brief discussion of archaeology's role in the discussion of Byzantine neighbourhoods and then turn to the Athenian Agora to examine places of social interaction and explore their role in neighbourhood life and the formation of a collective identity.[6]

In this second section, I consider three different types of spaces: churches, areas of industrial activity, and streets in Middle Byzantine Athens. First, I revisit the notion that neighbourhoods were organized around a church and instead point to the coexistence and proximity of various sacred spaces that point to a more complex religious landscape that informed peoples' interaction. Considering issues of zoning and neighbourhood development based on specific economic activities, I bring together recent archaeological discoveries from the Athenian Agora and elsewhere at Athens to trace the location and type of industrial activities within the city and better understand how such hubs were created and how they impacted the formation and conceptualization of neighbourhoods. I then present the biography of a single street within the Athenian Agora to explore how its spatial organization engaged the residents in a discourse about rights of access and about public and private space. In the final section, I consider what is inherently political about neighbourhoods and how archaeology can contribute to such discussions.

An archaeological approach to neighbourhood studies

Despite a boom of recent publications on Late Antique and Byzantine cities, many of which pursue new directions of study, discussions on the archaeology of neighbourhoods are still limited.[7] Perhaps an obvious obstacle is the lack of readily available material evidence on neighbourhoods. We do not excavate experiences and social ties; we excavate people's trash, abandoned buildings, and destroyed sites. This material world, however, was also constructed with ideas and imbued with multiple meanings which shaped and reflected experiences, social ties, and political actions.

Accordingly, the study of neighbourhoods requires an interpretive leap from buildings, objects, and urban infrastructure to activities that promoted interaction and enhanced a sense of belonging and collectiveness on the micro-scale.[8] Yet scholars remain hesitant to interpret archaeological evidence in this fashion, mainly for two reasons. First, traditional approaches to archaeology place primary emphasis on documentation and analysis but are reluctant to interpret without the support of textual evidence. Second, the overwhelming amount of data and the long duration of archaeological investigations slow down the study, interpretation, and publication of the finds.

Studies on Byzantine cities often focus exclusively on their monumental core, including such structures as fortification walls, palaces, and churches. Although such works contribute to the cities' architectural history and topography, their presentation in isolation from the surrounding built environment distorts our understanding of their potential functions and meanings. We miss the architectural and social dialogues that occurred between people, spaces, and buildings.[9] Such studies also promote top-down approaches to city-making processes, since the focus on elite sponsored monuments produces images of cities exclusively created by the Imperial court and its elite. Within such a framework, neighbourhoods are reduced to a constant "background noise" consisting of daily activities with no real social or political significance.

The archaeological study of neighbourhoods focuses instead on the spatial organization of cities in their entirety, paying attention to physical and built barriers, spatial clustering of buildings, spaces, and activities, and spaces of social distinctiveness.[10] Particular emphasis is placed on ordinary spaces that encompassed a variety of shared experiences. Such spaces promoted frequent social interaction among people, allowing them to meet face to face, exchange ideas and opinions, and carry on their daily activities. Streets are the urban shared spaces par excellence because they host numerous economic, social, religious, and political activities and promote encounters and interaction.[11] Furthermore, pavements, public amenities such as wells and benches, and open built and unbuilt public spaces are all material evidence of social interaction and negotiation. Similarly, sacred spaces, such as churches and burial grounds, brought people together and promoted a sense of belonging. Archaeological study of such spaces as sites of social interaction should reveal their role in neighbourhood formation and conceptualization.[12]

Middle Byzantine Athens

In my discussion of Middle Byzantine Athens and its neighbourhoods, I rely primarily on the Athenian Agora excavations. I also point to similar discoveries in other areas around Athens to provide a clearer idea of the city's spatial and socio-economic organization. Since 1931, the Athenian Agora Excavations have brought to light a significant part of the Byzantine city, including hundreds of houses and a variety of other built and open spaces (Figure 2.1).[13] The majority of these Byzantine discoveries still awaits publication, but I focus on this part of Athens due to the extent of the area excavated and the wealth and variety of Byzantine structures and artefacts discovered. These finds provide a unique opportunity to examine the neighbourhood formation and transformations and bring into sharp focus the people who lived in and shaped them.

The Ancient Agora was the heart of Classical Athens. Easily accessible from the city's main gate, the Dipylon, the Agora lies just north of the Acropolis and was connected to the sacred rock via the Panathenaic Way. The Agora was a major hub of political and economic activity in antiquity, populated by public civic and religious buildings, and open spaces for the display and selling of goods. Houses and workshops were limited to

Figure 2.1 Overview of Section H in foreground and Section E in the background, with the remains of Byzantine structures visible. Photo credit: American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora excavations.

the Agora's west and southwest edges, as well as to its north side, around the Hephasteion.[14]

The Herulian sack of the city in AD 267 and the destruction of buildings such as the Odeion and the Stoa of Attalos altered the monumental and public core of the Agora. Furthermore, the so-called post-Herulian wall built in the attack's aftermath left most of the Ancient Agora outside the fortified area and, thus, unprotected. Archaeological evidence points to a time of recovery and rebuilding in the next centuries and by the sixth century, public monumental structures such as the Palace of the Giants coexisted with industrial installations such as foundries and watermills in its vicinity, as well as houses built on top of Greco-Roman ruins.[15]

In the Middle Byzantine period, Athens was densely inhabited following the demographic boom witnessed throughout the Empire in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[16] The physical geography of the city had changed little since antiquity, but the built environment had changed dramatically.[17] The development of the city does not seem to have followed a rigid plan. Instead, it developed organically, with new buildings taking over empty spaces, pre-existing structures constantly being reconfigured, and ancient spolia finding their way onto the façades and into the foundations of Byzantine houses. The Acropolis continued to be a significant landmark of the

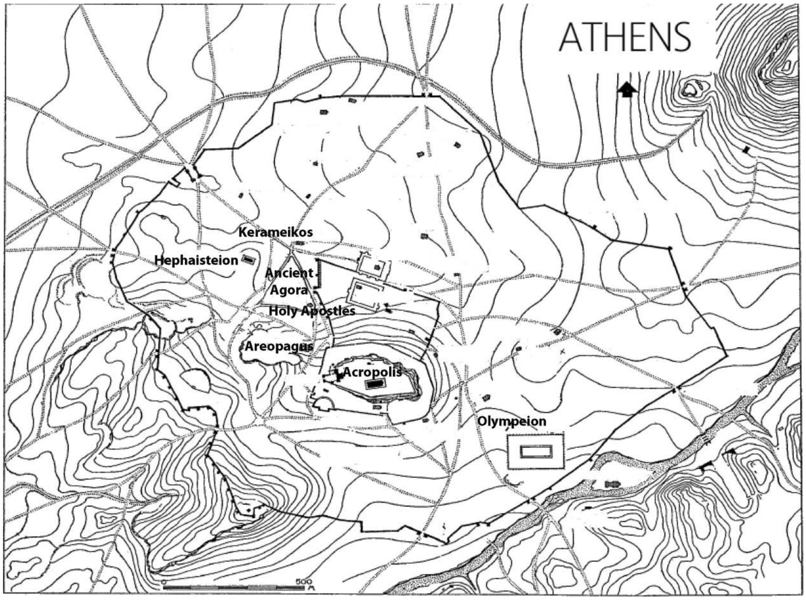


Figure 2.2 Map of Byzantine Athens, after Travlos (1960).

city, and the Parthenon, already transformed to a church in earlier centuries dedicated to the Mother of God of Athens, now functioned as the Metropolitan See and a major pilgrimage site.[18] The area of the Ancient Agora housed a variety of buildings and activities including residences, open spaces, workshops, churches, monasteries, and cemeteries. Other areas of habitation now clustered mainly between the ancient Valerian wall and the post-Herulian wall, including Areopagus and Kerameikos, the areas of modern Syntagma Square and the National Gardens, the area around the Olympieion, and the south slope of the Acropolis (Figure 2.2).

The conundrum of churches

Recent scholarship explores Byzantine churches as places of ritual, theophany, and pilgrimage, and as sites of extraordinary sensory experiences.[19] Churches have also been understood as spaces that promote collective action and shared identity, as well as inequality and social competition.[20] Building upon these recent advances on the multiple roles of churches and the variety of experiences they can afford, I examine here their possible relations and roles within a neighbourhood setting.

In Middle Byzantine Athens, elaborate private churches stood side by side with monastic complexes and with smaller, possibly parish churches.[21] The *Praktikon* of Athens, a document listing the properties and tenants of an unknown great landowner of Athens, exemplifies how churches functioned

Figure 2.3 Vaulted tombs in the narthex, Holy Apostles. Photo credit: American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations.

as important landmarks and were used as geographical markers to navigate the city and delineate property boundaries. For example, one property close to the Tzykanistirion is mentioned in relation to three churches in the vicinity: St. John Prodromos, the church of Christ, and that of the Virgin.[22] This speaks to the prominence of churches in the urban fabric of Athens and their role in the conceptualization of space. Two monumental churches, the Holy Apostles and the church of St. George (the ancient Hephaisteion), were located on the northwest and southeast sides of the Athenian Agora, framing an area of intense habitation and economic activity.[23] Built on elevated plateaus, supplied with elaborate and monumental façades, and connected to such main roads as the Panathenaic Way, the Holy Apostles, and St. George were highly visible landmarks. [24]

The Holy Apostles was probably a private foundation, but the numerous tombs and ossuaries discovered under the church floor point to a possible later change of function, and certainly to its increased use as a burial site (Figure 2.3).[25] How would such changes impact the church's role in neighbourhood life both spatially and socially? Similarly, St. George seems to have served a variety of roles, including the monastic and the funerary. Surviving Byzantine letters mention St. George as the *katholikon* of a monastery, and inscriptions on the church's columns list some of the abbots' names and dates of death in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[26] Archaeological remains dating to the Middle Byzantine period are limited to a number of walls to the south side of the temple together with storage vessels and a barrel-vaulted cistern. They certainly indicate activities related to the church, but their exact function is difficult to determine.[27] Numerous burials dated to the Middle and Late Byzantine periods have also been found inside and around the church. The presence of both male and female skeletons suggests accommodation of the burial needs of a larger community than strictly a monastic one.[28] The numerous Middle Byzantine houses and small streets surrounding both churches attest to their location within intensely inhabited areas, and further point to the spatial, religious, and social interaction among nearby residents and these churches.

Besides the Holy Apostles and St. George, a number of smaller churches was located within the Athenian Agora, including St. Philippos located northeast of St. George, and St. Thomas behind the Stoa of Attalos. [29] Northeast of St. George, another two small churches were also found in close proximity to each other, located in the same block, one located along a north-south running street and the other on an east-west running street that meets the former.[30] Both of them were of small dimensions, literally squeezed between house walls, lacking the monumentality of other churches in the area (Figure 2.4).[31] Multiple burials were discovered within each of them. Two things are of interest here: their mutual proximity, and the fact that both mark burial sites that predated the construction of the churches.

How should we understand the coexistence of two small churches in the same area? Did they serve different functions, different groups, or both? Did one play a more important role in the identification of the neighbourhood than the other? As funerary chapels, both were places of burial, prayer, and commemoration. In fact, the biography of these chapels seems similar; both transformed from unused or abandoned spaces between houses to sacred places for the burial and commemoration of the dead. At a later stage, these burial places were also framed architecturally by small chapels, marking more clearly their location and function. In the case of the smaller chapel, the burial of a single individual in an extended position with the head toward the west was discovered in the southwest corner of the narthex. This seems to be the earliest burial on the site and pre-existed the construction of the chapel.[32] Similarly, in the bigger chapel, St. Nikolaos, a male individual was found in an extended position, fully covered with large tiles underneath the narthex's west wall. Since the narthex's floor was intact, we can assume that the burial predated the narthex's construction.[33]

Here is an archaeological witness to the transformation of urban spaces through practice (i.e., burial, church building, prayer) that influenced how neighbourhoods were conceived and experienced daily. Perhaps the presence of these two funerary chapels and their proximity to each other contributed to this neighbourhood's distinct character. To further explore their role and meaning, we can draw analogies to what we know of other Byzantine churches.

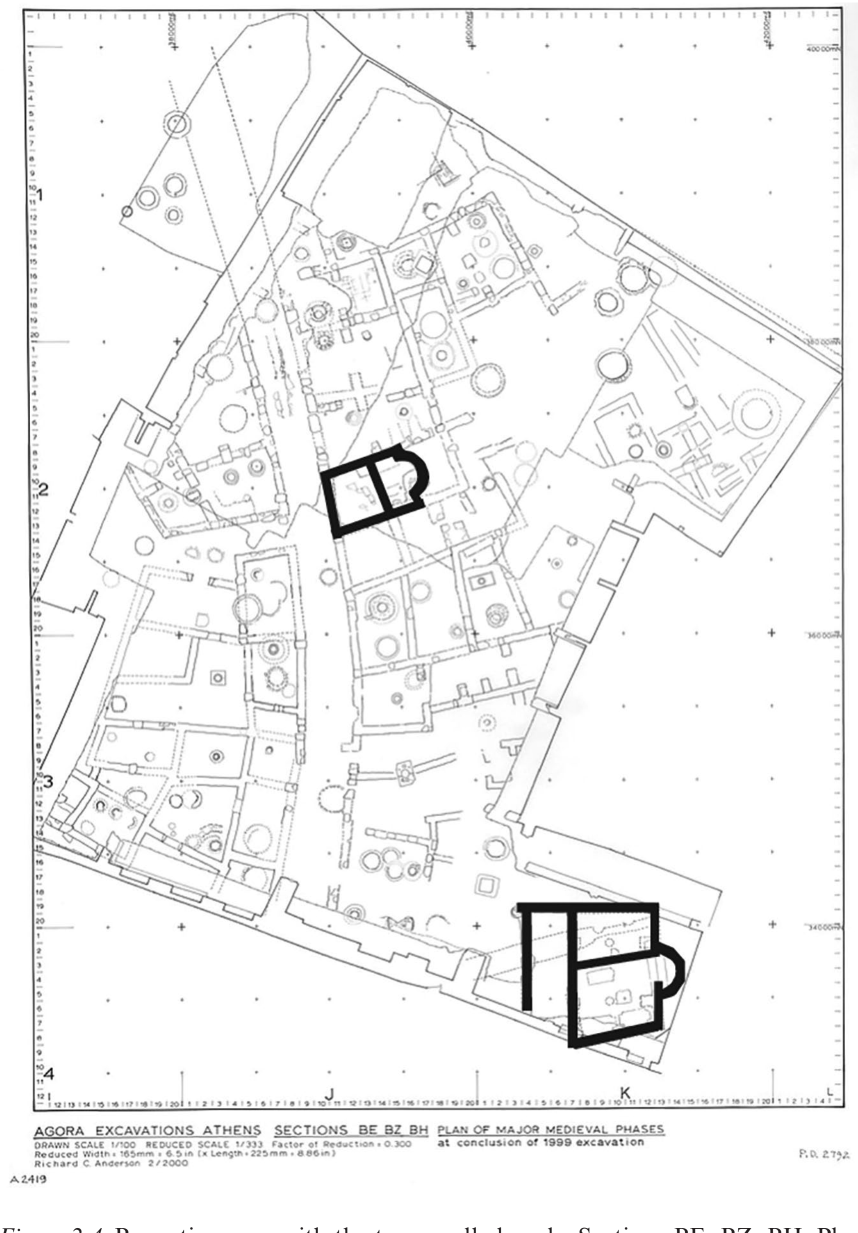
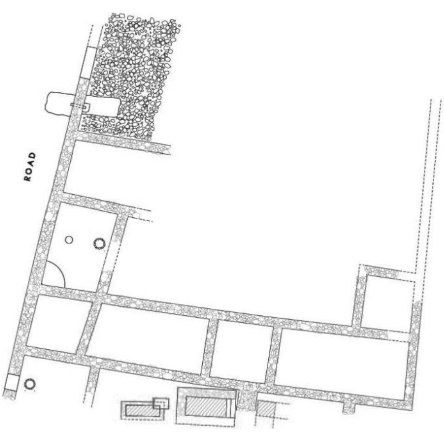


Figure 2.4 Byzantine area with the two small chapels, Sections BE, BZ, BH. Plan courtesy: the American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations.

As funerary spaces, these chapels were visual markers of loss and grief, as well as of hope for salvation, and focal points of ritual involving prayer and commemoration. Even if they were private chapels associated with the adjacent houses, they could still engage with the wider community. On a first level, the residents in that street would have to agree to or at least tolerate the presence of burials within a residential zone. On a more substantial level, these private chapels invited collective action, such as communal prayer for the deceased, particularly on special feast days.[34] The chapels' bells would participate in the organization of the neighbourhood's daily routines and time schedules and would signal events of loss and worship. Evidence exists of religious confraternities that centred on common worship, cared for the sick and occasionally formed burial societies. This illuminates the acts of burial and commemoration as collective responsibilities and experiences that transcended the limits of the immediate family.[35] Furthermore, these small chapels did not stand in isolation, but were linked to a wider network of religious spaces within the city by roads, paths, and processions.[36] Whether one encountered these chapels along the street or visited them intentionally, memories were formed that informed notions of belonging and collectiveness. In that sense, it is not only spatial proximity and function that connects the two chapels and their surrounding residential areas, but also embodied and shared practices.

In the same general area (north of St. George), additional spaces were being transformed to house the dead in the same period. Between St. George and the two small churches discussed above, a series of ossuaries have been found in an open space between houses (Figure 2.5).[37] Three ossuaries, each containing multiple individuals, were discovered outside a Middle Byzantine

(a)



(b)

Figure 2.5 (a) Three ossuaries found adjacent to a Byzantine house. Drawing by L. Leddy and F. Kondyli. (b) Articulated skeletons in one of the ossuaries. Photo credit: American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations.

house, occupying a space south of the house that seems to be open, perhaps part of an alley. Based on the skeletons' articulation and position, most of the deceased were originally buried elsewhere, perhaps in small funerary chapels like the ones discussed above. While we do not know much about the identity of the deceased,[38] the ossuaries themselves point to a purposeful act that involved a specific grouping of individuals, and a specific location where that grouping became meaningful. As with the two small chapels, the transformation of an empty space to a sacred place involved the participation of the families of the deceased and at least the permission of people inhabiting the area, particularly the surrounding houses. The location of the ossuaries in an open space by a road also invited the engagement of a larger community, people who walked by the street and who would stop to offer a prayer for those who were buried there. In more official rituals of remembrance and commemoration of the dead, family and neighbours were also expected to participate.[39]

I have so far concentrated on a small area on the north side of the Agora to indicate a variety of religious buildings and sacred spaces. This image of numerous churches and religious institutions crowded in the same areas continues outside the Agora: at Monastiraki (Pantanassa), the Roman Agora (Asomaton Sta Skalia, St. Elias of Staropazaro, the Taxiarches church, the church beneath the Fethiye Mosque), and at Plaka (St. Ioannis Theologos, Metamorphosis, St. Nikolaos Rangava).[40] We are thus dealing with a large number of churches with different functions, scales, and degrees of access, and potentially with different implications and roles within their respective neighbourhoods. If we include also places of burial, then we have many coexisting religious spaces that promoted participation and social interaction beyond the immediate family realm and informed notions of geographical and emotional connectivity and closeness. These spaces point to a more complex relation between residential areas and sacred spaces, that takes us beyond the simple equation of church equals neighbourhood. They are visual markers and means of navigation within the city, as well as places of congregation, shared faith, and collective memory.[41] They also participate in small-scale sacred topographies and become bridges between different parts of the city connected through movement and ritual.

A neighbourhood of craftsmen?

The *Praktikon* of Athens, mentioned above, refers to the neighbourhood of Kochylarion (area of dye-workers), explicitly using the word *geitonia* ("neighbourhood").[42] Based on this reference, scholars have imagined a neighbourhood exclusively or largely composed of people who worked in murex-related industries such as dye production for textiles. While this textual reference might support the idea of Byzantine neighbourhoods as distinct zones of social and/or economic activities, archaeological evidence points to a more complex reality. Based on the large number of murex shells discovered around the Herodion, the neighbourhood of Kochylarion is believed to have been located between the Acropolis and the Hill of Muses.[43] However, large amounts of murex shells and open vats associated with dyers' workshops have also been found in other areas, including the Olympieion, the Makriyannis area, the Library of Hadrian, and the north part of the Athenian Agora.[44] This suggests that the processing of murex occurred in more than one location in the city and that no one neighbourhood was exclusively associated with this activity.

The same seems to be true for other types of industries, particularly pottery production.[45] Pottery kilns, kiln furniture, and wasters have been found in the Athenian Agora,[46] the Roman Agora,[47] the south slope of the Acropolis,[48] and the Makriyannis plot underneath the new Acropolis museum.[49] The numerous areas discovered relating to ceramic production suggest that there was no one area in the city dedicated to pottery production, rather multiple locations close to main roads, points of entry, and water sources. Furthermore, the recent discoveries at the Makriyannis area point to hubs of industrial activities where several industries coexisted, including textile dyeing, and pottery and metal production.[50]

The north side of the Athenian Agora displays similar characteristics of an economic and industrial hub. This is exemplified by a large block between two north-south streets, stretching through Sections MM, ΒΓ' and ΒΓ. The excavators revealed a variety of features within these structures that point to production beyond the household scale.[51] For example, an installation of two plastered vats connected to two pithoi has been found at the western part of the block and should be dated to the mid-twelfth to early thirteenth centuries (Figure 2.6).[52] Their function is not clear, but they share some similarities with other installations in the city that have been interpreted as

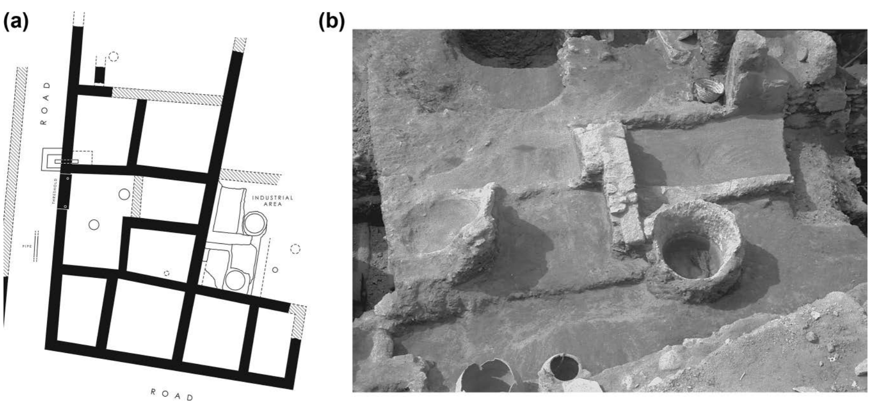


Figure 2.6 (a) Drawing of an industrial installation with vats within a Middle Byzantine structure. Drawing by L. Leddy and F. Kondyli. (b) Photo of an industrial installation with vats within a Middle Byzantine structure. Photo credit: American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations.

features related to textile dyeing or tanning. In the same block, excavators interpreted a round tiled surface as part of an oven that could have been used for more than just domestic activities; a few meters away another round mudbrick construction (probably a built pithos) contained kiln wasters.[53] Although the numerous pithoi and cesspits found in this structure were ubiquitous features in the residential area at the Agora, their proximity to vats, kilns, and pipes points to a different use than a simply domestic one. The idea of an area at the north part of the Agora with a variety of domestic and industrial uses is further supported by the more recently excavated sections BE-BZ-BH that have also produced evidence of industrial activity, such as the large pit with murex shells mentioned above.[54]

What do these data on industrial activities tell us about neighbourhoods? They all support the idea that the same economic and industrial activities were taking place in various locations around the city, and there was not one area exclusively designated for a certain type of activity. Moreover, the discoveries at Makriyannis and the north part of the Agora clearly show a clustering of activities in specific areas. Apparently, people involved in similar activities often occupied the same location, thus creating hubs of industry and economic activity. Recent studies on the industrial activities in other Byzantine cities, such as Thessaloniki, Constantinople, and Cherson, present a similar image. Different industries coexisted in the same areas, in multiple locations around the city: near elite houses, clustered on main roads, around open public spaces, and even in close proximity to churches.[55] Based on these discoveries, we should move away from the idea of neighbourhoods organized around one type of activity, and consider instead the factors that informed such activities' location and their impact on daily experiences which consequently informed notions of neighbourhoods.

A combination of macro-structural and bottom-up actions contribute to the clustering of such activities and groups.[56] On the macro-level, the demographic boom and the relative stability and prosperity experienced in the Middle Byzantine period translated to new markets and an increased demand for goods as well as competition for space. The state also affected activity clustering through legislation on zoning and efforts to restrict certain activities, especially those involving fire and bad smells, to the outskirts of the city. The local administration also participated to the degree that it enforced such laws and regulated economic activities.[57] The topography and available resources in each hub of activity are also relevant. For example, the clustering of industrial activities in the north part of the Agora could be partly explained by the area's access to water from the Eridanos River, and by its proximity to main routes, such as the Panathenaic Way (which still connected the area of the Agora with the religious and administrative centre of the city).[58] It is also located at the city's northern limit, allowing easier access to the city's hinterland and areas outside the city used for waste dumping.[59]

Bottom-up processes were equally important in the formation of such clusters. Economic hubs were also the outcome of the inhabitants' and craftsmen's decisions and actions. Communities of craftsmen learned from and competed with each other, occasionally shared tools, techniques, and installations, and even teamed up to transport raw material and finished commodities. In such cases, a shared location of similar activities was an efficient solution that also boosted creativity and technological advances.

Such hubs of economic activity also contributed to the distinct character of a place. The funerary inscriptions at the church of St. George, which is very near to the cluster of industrial activities discussed here, speaks overwhelmingly of craftsmen, such as builders, coppersmiths, and dyers, and thus encapsulates a distinct element of this neighbourhood.[60] These inscriptions can be understood as material manifestations of social and economic identity, and their micro-spatial expression in the urban fabric.[61] As such, they provide evidence of a shared identity that was expressed through structures, objects, inscriptions, and common experiences. In terms of neighbourhood experiences, such clusters of activities would stand out from nearby blocks which might have been more residential. The sounds, the smells, and the overall bustle that come with craft production certainly informed life in these blocks and gave them a distinct character. The shared activities of making and the shared experiences and sensory responses to living in such an area shaped the notions of a neighbourhood.

Open spaces – shared spaces

Open spaces informed daily experiences and mental maps of the urban landscape.[62] Even when they were designed by the central or regional administration, they became spaces of economic, social, religious, and political interaction for all types of groups, including non-elites. They also functioned as focal points of political action and mobilization, ranging from formal visits of Emperors to impromptu meetings, riots, and acts of opposition.[63] Streets in particular "have been historically critical sites of grassroots social and economic activity for urban classes lacking much private enclosed space."[64] The centrality of streets in the daily life of common people in Byzantine cities is also well attested in hagiographical texts where the main plot often takes places in the streets, porticoes, and open spaces outside churches.[65] Yet they are rarely dealt with in studies on Byzantine urbanism, and when they are not the main streets of processions and imperial *adventus*, they have no place in political studies. In what follows, I briefly narrate a small event in a Byzantine street's biography in an attempt to place streets at the heart of daily encounters in urban neighbourhoods and approach them as spaces of social and political negotiation.

In the north of the Agora (Section MM), a small street running north-south and separating two house blocks provides an interesting example of interaction among neighbours. The street was initially wider on the north part but became irregular and narrower to the south. Within the street, a

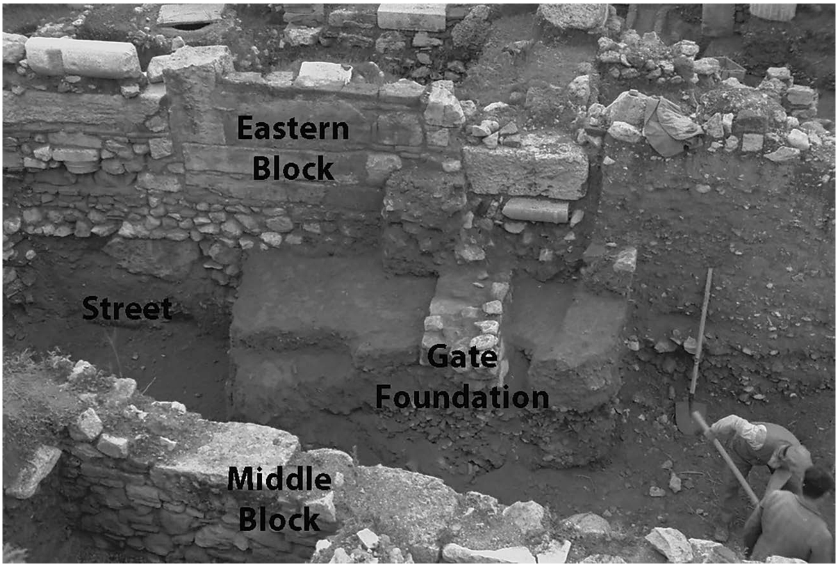


Figure 2.7 Traces of the gate's foundation blocking the street. Photo credit: American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations.

foundation for a gate was discovered placed east-west, extending from the one house façade to the opposite one, thus blocking the road (Figure 2.7). After a destructive fire in the first half of the twelfth century that affected both houses, their façades were rebuilt. The new external wall of the west house (named Middle Block by the excavators) was moved further west, and as a result, the street became wider at the south. The gate was not rebuilt (Figure 2.8).

I believe that this gated street points to an arrangement involving the residents of the street.[66] We have no way of knowing what kind of arrangement that was or why the gate was abandoned after the fire. One can entertain different scenarios: from complaints and threats of legal action, to new owners, or simply indifference. Regardless, the implementation and destruction of the gate that regulated movement and controlled accessibility are material manifestations of interaction and political practice at the neighbourhood level. What happened in that street certainly affected the residents of the houses nearby, but it also affected people's movement in the broader area since the street continued both to the north and the south. Whether the gate was something that neighbours agreed upon or contested, their shared space and frequent interaction forced them to consider what was public and private and negotiate issues of rights of property and access.[67] Such interactions among neighbours pertaining to the regulation of public spaces had significant political implications in the life of the city.

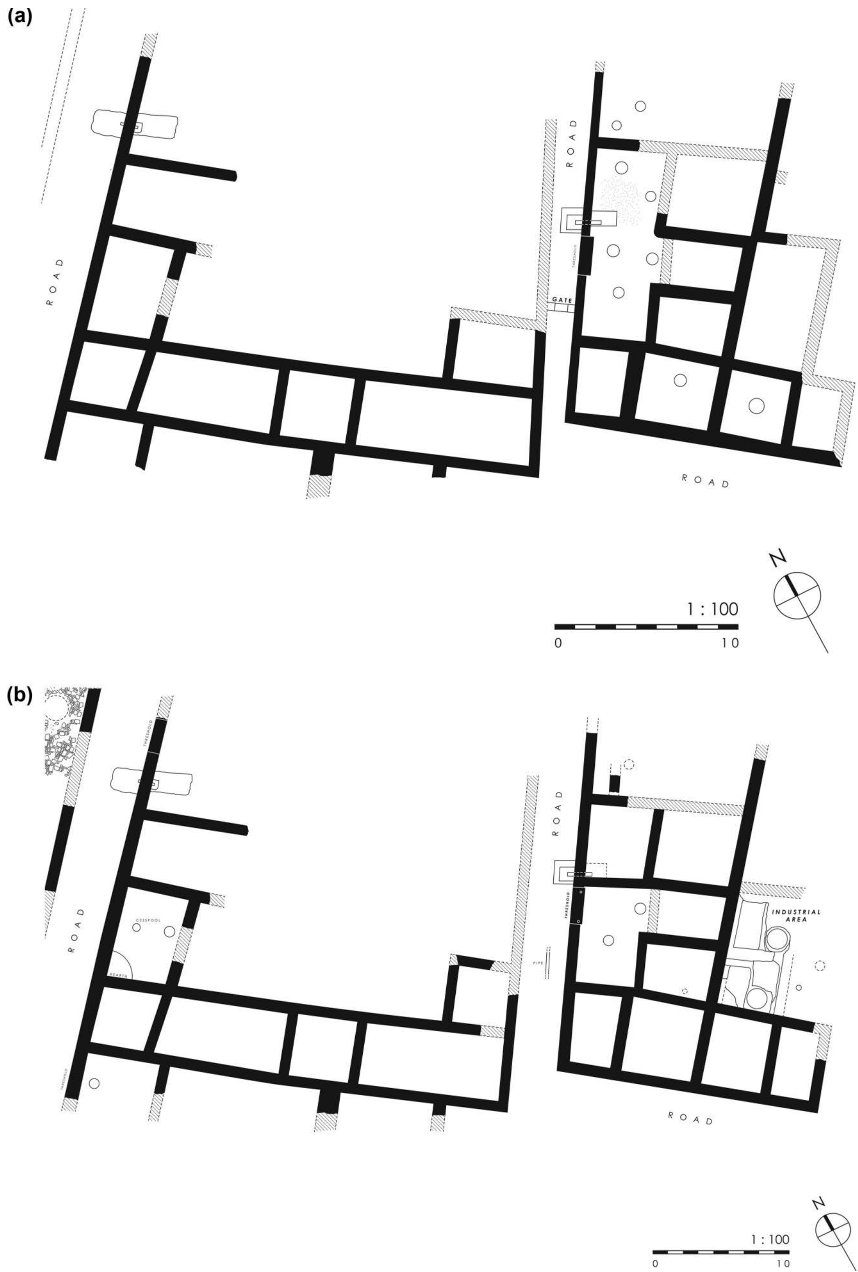


Figure 2.8 (a) Pre-fire phase of the road and its flanking structures. Drawings by L. Leddy and F. Kondyli. (b) Post-fire phase of the road and its flanking structures. Drawings by L. Leddy and F. Kondyli.

The political aspect of Byzantine neighbourhoods

We often associate political action with large-scale events, such as the ascent and descent of political leaders, wars, and major diplomatic events. In a Byzantine urban context, political action is almost synonymous with rebellions and separatist movements. Thus, the study of neighbourhoods, which has been associated with quotidian life, seems initially irrelevant to such political processes.[68]

In examining what is political about neighbourhoods, I want to suggest two approaches. First, writing about the archaeology of politics, Adam Smith emphasizes the limitations of an approach to political action that focuses only on institutions and ignores the politics of the everyday.[69] In terms of material evidence, such notions of politics focus our attention on the public and monumental, thus neglecting the neighbourhood, the house, and the burial ground as places that shape and reproduce political behaviour. Second, in order to understand cities as political bodies and explore their relation to central administration, we need to identify the spaces where political events could be organized, political views exchanged, and political actions unravelled.

The examples from the Athenian Agora that I have presented here include the transformation of empty plots to places of religious importance, the formation of communities of craft and knowledge production, and, finally, the regulation of public spaces. These activities and shared spaces speak to collective action which is inherently political. For example, in the case of burial sites within residential areas, the transformation of empty spaces to places imbued with religious significance relied on collective participation in rituals and acknowledgement of their meaning and symbolism beyond the family of the deceased. These spaces and the shared experiences they encompassed reflect and reaffirm aspects of collective identity and exemplify how a neighbourhood could function as a collective body.[70]

These examples also speak to the active participation of city-dwellers in the spatial organization and regulation of their city through daily practices, changes in architecture and use, and embedded social meanings. For example, in the case of the gated road, this spatial arrangement defined acceptable behaviour by introducing a barrier that controlled movement and functioned as a means of negotiating notions of public and private.[71] This active involvement in city-making processes suggests that different social groups, including the residents themselves, assumed some of the state's fundamental roles as city builders, and providers of amenities, at the neighbourhood level.

Leonora Neville's work on Middle Byzantine provincial administration has emphasized the mode of operation in the provinces in which a hands-off central administration did not intervene unless there was a visible threat to its authority.[72] Furthermore, Dimitris Krallis has pointed to the role of non-elites in the formation of collective and political identities in Byzantine cities.[73] In that political environment, local elites, city councils, and the citizens participated in cities' infrastructure, deciding on their day-to-day operations, and shaping their morphology. It is worth noting that Byzantine city councils often included representatives of different professional associations and guilds thus giving non-elites direct access to the management of cities.[74] These acts of collaboration, coexistence, or competition between central administration, local authorities, and small-scale communities, support the idea that neighbourhoods were to some degree self-regulated.

The goal of this paper has been to move beyond rigid spatial and social criteria and offer a more flexible approach to Byzantine neighbourhoods. Using archaeological evidence, I have shown how the spatial organization and architecture of neighbourhoods provided visible clues about social behaviour and political dynamics.[75] All case studies discussed here point to spaces and activities that offered opportunities for collective action and experiences and enhanced social affiliations anchored in specific locales. They also all involve the active participation of the residents themselves in both transforming urban spaces and regulating social behaviour. Such actions are unmistakably political since they point to the self-regulation of the city and speak to the relationship of the governed with the local and central administration.[76] As such, neighbourhoods allow us to study the political and social mechanisms of an empire on the micro-scale, and offer alternative narratives about city-making and empire-building that are not centred on Constantinople and the imperial court.

Notes

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See also Lewis Mumford, "The Neighborhood and the Neighborhood Unit," *The Town Planning Review* 24, (1954): 256–270, here at 257–258.

6 For neighbourhood and collective identity, see Chaskin, "Perspectives on Neighborhood," 523–524.

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10 Smith, "Archaeological Study," 145–147.

11 For a discussion of public spaces and streets in Late Antiquity, see Jacobs, *Aesthetic Maintenance*, 111–204 and 588–643; Hendrik W. Dey, *The Afterlife of the Roman City: Architecture and Ceremony in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 65–126. For the role of streets, see also Jeremy Hartnett, *The Roman Street: Urban Life and Society in Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

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13 Alison Frantz, T*he Middle Ages in the Athenian Agora* (Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1961); Charalambos Bouras, *Byzantine Athens, 10th–12th Centuries* (London: Routledge, 2017), 66–82.

14 John McK. II Camp, *The Athenian Agora. A Short Guide to the Excavations* (Athens: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2005), 4–8, 19–20.

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29 Bouras, *Byzantine Athens,* 77–80, 209.

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31 Shear, "Excavations of 1989–1993," 522, fig. 7.

32 This burial was found at a lower level compared to the other burials in the narthex, 1 m under the tile floor. The fact that this burial did not pierce through the tile floor in the narthex, makes it earlier than the other burials and the floor itself. Shear, "Excavations of 1989–1993," 536. See also Fotini Kondyli, "Community Building and Collective Identity in Middle Byzantine Athens," in *Ideologies and Identities in the Medieval East Roman World*, ed. Yannis Stouraitis (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, forthcoming).

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42 Granstrem et al., "Fragment d'un praktikon," 27–28, 35.

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Part II

Byzantine neighbourhoods as social spaces

3 Who is the person living next door? Neighbourly relations in early Byzantine Assos

Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan

Definition and theoretical background

Byzantine cities, villages, and rural settlements have been in the scientific focus for some time.[1] Winfried Schmitz points out that in the Western medieval sources neighbours had a different meaning than in Antiquity, namely a local community of landowners.[2] In general, the use of the term "neighbour" to refer either to the immediate neighbours or to all farmers in the village depends on the settlement structure. Closed settlements tend to create a neighbourhood.[3]

According to Johannes Koder, a Byzantine city is a settlement with "a considerable proportion of non-agricultural functions," and has "a high density of buildings" with close spatial zones forming specific neighbourhoods. The city was a market centre with goods and money – a traffic, a religious and administrative nucleus with a big impact on the economics of the individual inhabitants[4] – therefore, the heart in a network of surrounding villages or hamlets.[5]

This paper aims to investigate the urban landscape of Assos and its neighbourhoods. By focusing on the built environment, the inventory, and the households, the spatial planning of neighbourhoods and their social and economic aspects will be investigated. First, the relationship of Assos to its hinterland will be presented to illuminate the "regional neighbourhood" and the city's role as a "central place." Subsequently, the urban setting of Assos will be described based on the analysis of its living quarters, domestic complexes, and households in order to approach its local neighbourhoods.

The "regional" neighbourhood of Assos

Assos is located on the west coast of the Anatolian peninsula and bordered by the Aegean Sea. The Greek city was founded by colonists from Methymna (on Lesbos) in the seventh century B.C.[6] It was a short stopover for the philosopher Aristotle, who probably had Assos in mind when he described the cityscape of ideal Greek cities (*Politics* VII.11–12). During the Roman period, Assos was a significant provincial town, as indicated by the

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visits of Roman dignitaries.[7] Nevertheless, in scholarly accounts of Byzantine road systems, Assos and the Troad region have always been shown outside larger trade routes.[8] Archaeological surveys in recent years show a different picture and prove that the southern Troad was densely populated from the sixth century onwards.[9] One reason for this was certainly the economic wealth of the region. The fertile alluvial plain of the rivers is suitable for a variety of agricultural products.

Assos was the seat of a bishop from the early fifth century, and functioned as the ecclesiastical centre for the southern Troad region. Furthermore, the surveys suggest that Assos was the nucleus of the settlements in the region, indicating its function as the central place.[10] The city was integrated into a neighbourly network of surrounding settlements (Figure 3.1). In the fifth through the seventh centuries, Assos was involved in a neighbourly supply network.[11]

West of Assos, there is a fertile plain bordered by a cliff facing the sea. On the edge of the plain, in visual range of the city and adjacent to the Byzantine city periphery, there are remnants of smaller farmsteads, which date to the sixth and seventh centuries, according to the surface pottery. About 50 m below the plain, and separated from the sea by the cliffs, are the remains of a ca. 22.8 × 15.2 m large church, which was furnished with marble building elements and a mosaic.[12] Other village settlements, some with churches whose remains are still preserved, are located in two zones: one 1–2 km from the city, and another 10–15 km from the city (Figure 3.1).[13]

The nearest large seaport was not in the neighbourhood but was nearly one day's travel away from Assos. The harbour of Assos was therefore an

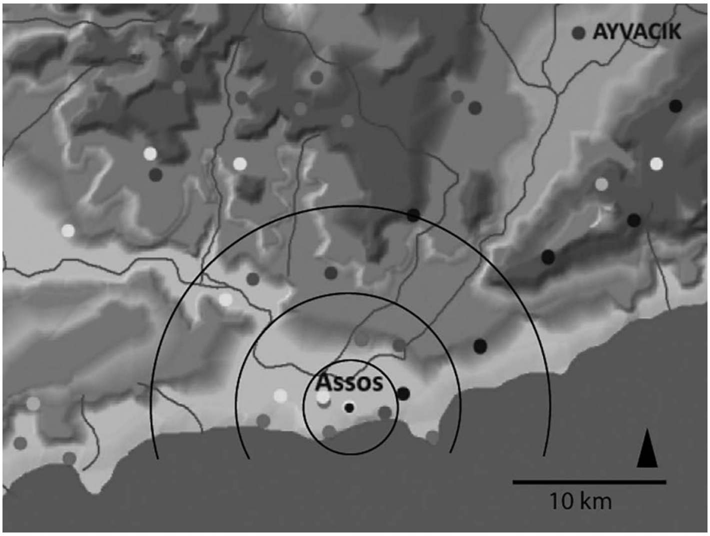

Figure 3.1 Assos with the settlements in the surrounding area. © B. Böhlendorf-Arslan.

important trading centre until the late Byzantine and Ottoman period (Figure 3.3).[14] In the late Byzantine period, the harbour of Alexandreia Troad may not have been in operation anymore, as the inhabitants of the neighbouring town of Scamandros did not embark from the port of Alexandreia Troad, but took the longer route via Assos to flee to Lesbos before the invading Turks came.[15]

The "local" neighbourhood of Assos

Topography and historical development of Assos

The topography of Assos is dominated by the rough landscape and the huge trachyte rock outcropping, which forms the acropolis of the Greek city (Figure 3.3). The antique and early Byzantine city centre lies between the acropolis and the sea. The harbour is situated about 130 m below the acropolis (Figures 3.2 and 3.3). The slope between the acropolis and the harbour is covered with artificial terraces with residential areas, churches, living quarters, squares, and streets. To the north of the acropolis runs the broad bed of the river Satnioeis, flanked by fertile cropland. Other arable land lies to the east and west of the urban space. Between the river and the acropolis extends a large area of stone quarries.

In Hellenistic and Roman times, the larger public buildings were focused on the southwestern and southern slopes below the acropolis (Figures 3.2 and 3.3). There are indications that the streets and alleys stretching along the slope between the buildings in antiquity were arranged at more or less regular intervals. Due to the topography, the horizontal streets had to be laid out at the edges of the terraces, and the vertical paths had to be partially provided with stairs.[16]

The antique cityscape of Assos changed drastically in the late fifth and sixth centuries.[17] An earthquake took place around AD 460 and made the rebuilding of the city necessary.[18] A new city was developed right through the sixth century, with a new centre, churches, new residential quarters and houses, and a redesigned infrastructure.[19] In the subsequent 150 years, people worked and lived in this new environment. At the end of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century, another devastating earthquake destroyed life within the city walls. The survivors moved to new quarters in the west, outside the city wall, and on the northern slope of the acropolis.[20]

Spatial and social neighbourhood in early Byzantine Assos

In the sixth century, the people lived in the newly created city of Assos in a changed spatial and social structure. The earlier neighbourhoods had to be abandoned due to the severe damage by the earthquake. Within the city, certain areas are separated by enclosures and terrace walls (Figure 3.2). Such physical edges define the borders of spatial neighbourhoods, in a similar

Figure 3.2 Early Byzantine City of Assos with pilgrimage centre consisting of church and saint's grave (ayazma church) and presumed monastery (schematic drawing of the church H). © Assos Excavation Archive.

way to those defined by Paul Magdalino for Constantinople as "a block or two and the surrounding streets."[21] Furthermore, the term "residential neighbourhood" can be narrowed down even more,[22] when in certain architectural areas a clear separation is made towards the exterior. In Assos, such separation towards the exterior can be seen in several types of houses, for example, the type of the courtyard house,[23] that is, a building surrounded by a wall with an interior court, or blocks of houses that are attached.[24] In blocks, there are inevitably neighbourly contacts.

Enclosure walls in the western part of Assos indicate the presence of courtyard houses. Without excavations, it cannot be determined if the courts are

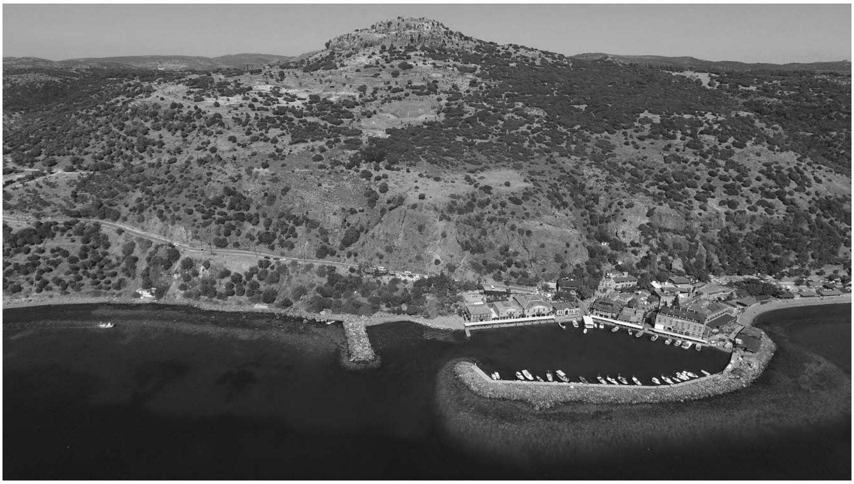

Figure 3.3 View to the harbour and the city area. At the back the antique acropolis and Late Byzantine Kastron. © Assos Excavation Archive.

peristyle with blocked intercolumniations or not.[25] Courtyard houses with several rooms around a court also occur in early Byzantine settlements, but were apparently more frequent from the ninth century.[26] In late Byzantine Pergamon, courtyard houses became the common living places.[27] The compact form of the block type house can be found in many settlements and was most easily adapted to the respective needs.[28] In Cilicia, the rectangular houses were usually two-storey, with the economic and utility areas on the ground floor.[29]

Spatial neighbourhoods call for social interconnectedness. Spatial proximity can create conflicts in a neighbourhood that are not related to social differences.[30] In the sixth century, laws were promulgated in Constantinople that regulated urban living.[31] In Constantinople, especially, the problem of "spatial proximity" was in the foreground, forbidding constructions that blocked daylight or sea views of neighbouring houses. Though these laws may not be transferable, such neighbourly conflicts could also have occurred in Assos.

Using the example of Assos, I would like to investigate whether social differences have an impact on a neighbourhood. From the drastic changes in the late fifth and sixth centuries, it can be assumed that the community changed. There may have been a shift in the economic situation or income after the natural disasters. The extensively changed cityscape also raises the question of whether the real estate has been redistributed; for example, whether poor families now occupied formerly elite areas. When the society changed, what could have been the consequences for the communal and social character of the neighbourhood community? Due to the archaeological evidence, in particular, the construction techniques and the inventory of the buildings, the residences of the upper, middle, and lower classes can be distinguished in Assos.

Changes in the residential quarters and public spaces

From the late fifth century onwards, the ancient agora had lost its function and was remodelled (Figures 3.2 and 3.4).[32] The entrance to the agora was blocked by small-scale houses built of irregular stone masonry,[33] and the formerly open space of the agora was covered by a low-density cluster of separate houses.[34] Workshops were discovered within the newly created closed neighbourhood. A blacksmith worked in the former bouleuterion, and immediately west of the ancient stoa, a winery was built on the ground floor of a house. Therefore, the agora was now an area in which residential buildings, workshops, and shops were located in close proximity to each other. Based on the archaeological evidence, this neighbourhood was inhabited not only by artisans and the urban middle class but also by more affluent people.

In front of the Roman temple, south of the entrance to the agora, a house with at least five rooms was built (Figure 3.4).[35] This building probably includes a dining room (or triclinium), whose apsidal structure was drawn by the first American excavators Clarke and Bacon in 1883.[36] Finds from the western three rooms mainly consist of domestic pottery and tableware, including cooking pots, jugs, and terra sigillata plates of the sixth and seventh centuries. Among the large numbers of small finds inside the rooms were many personal items, including spindle whorls, loom weights, a bronze spindle hook and needles for producing textiles, bone tools and accessories,

Figure 3.4 Byzantine remains on the agora, with Roman temple on the right, and lower agora. © Assos Excavation Archive.

bronze buckles, different types of earrings, and a total of 48 coins. Some of the earliest objects are worn coins of Justinian I (560/1) and Phokas (602–610).[37] Moreover, a small belt strap end in the Martinovka style was found and can be dated to the early seventh century based on parallels from Italy and the Balkans.[38] The sides of the strap are decorated with gold inlays in the form of small leaves.

Because of its representative position, the apsidal room can be identified as an audience hall or a triclinium. The five rooms attached to the rear would have been service and residential spaces accessible from the outside since the tableware was stored here. Audience hall and triclinia are typical elements of early Byzantine villa layouts as found, for example, in Sardis, Aphrodisias, Ephesos, Xanthos, Olympos, and other cities.[39] The small finds testify that the inhabitants of this little prestigious building were comparatively affluent.

The new centre of the city was now apparently on a terrace below the ancient agora (Figures 3.2 and 3.4), as indicated by a church dating to the sixth century. The church has an adjacent building, which probably served as a bishop's palace with an audience hall.[40] The ensemble was supplemented by a chapel, rebuilt from a tetrapylon with the function of a well-house.[41]

On the southwest corner of the same terrace is a building that cannot be included in the presumed episcopal complex (Figures 3.4 and 3.5). This building has been identified as an early Byzantine house, which was inserted into a former Hellenistic monumental building that was converted into a palaestra in Roman times.[42] The Byzantine house, which once had two floors, was furnished with a kitchen, storage rooms, a room with heating, several chambers, and a representative dining hall in which an Hellenistic floor mosaic was reused.[43] This well-equipped residential complex was surely used by people who enjoyed a certain economic means. The building exhibits features – such as the silos and storage rooms with access from the kitchen, and the room with heating and stone paving – that indicate prosperity with luxury of furnishings, which was above the norm for the common houses of Assos. Among the movable objects, there are genuine Terra Sigillata plates from North Africa, tableware produced locally in Phokaia, as well as numerous glass vessels, and a horse fibula from Sicily.[44]

This house had no openings towards the east, to the square with chapel and church, and also not towards the north, to the "episcopal complex" with the audience hall (Figures 3.4 and 3.5). The walls of ashlar stones remain quite high. Since the Hellenistic era, they had formed the side walls of the building and screened it off, forming the back walls of a representative square. The square was paved with stone slabs and was surrounded by the chapel, the church, and the palace. The access to this square was through a gate on the south side.

The location of this building – in immediate proximity but without access to the church complex – raises some questions. Why was this outstanding building erected there? Who were its residents? The currently available data do not provide answers to these questions.

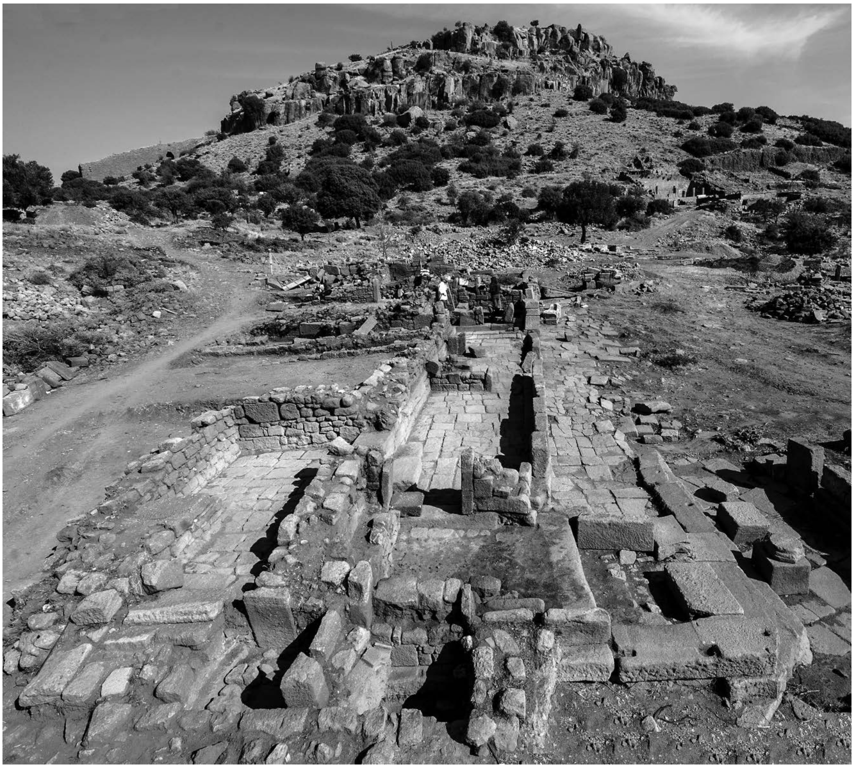

Figure 3.5 Residential house on the southwest corner of the lower agora. In the foreground to the left is the stairwell with the entrance, in the middle the kitchen, with silos in front of it. © Assos Excavation Archive.

Interestingly, the residential building had access outside the square from the south, where one could enter the living space by climbing up several steps from a street running east to west.

It is possible that a second entrance may have existed on the west side towards a terrace situated above. Nevertheless, the residence had not been oriented towards the square or the terrace with the new clerical centre. Accordingly, the outstanding building forms the upper end of other city quarters in the south, with the West Church and the middle-class houses in the west (for which see below).

Are churches the nuclei of neighbourhoods?

The other churches of Assos were isolated similarly from their surroundings or their geographical settings. There were five churches in total and two chapels inside the city; three more churches are situated extra muros (Figure 3.2).[45]

The buildings located in the vicinity of these intra-urban churches can help to define their functions. The direct proximity of the churches in Assos is limited by geographic and structural characteristics. Churches and surrounding houses are located on the same terrace or are oriented towards each other, connected by streets. The ecclesiastic and urban buildings clearly form a spatial zone; the outstanding architecture of the ecclesiastical buildings implies that they were obvious landmarks in every residential quarter and served their immediate neighbourhoods.[46]

According to an inscription inserted in a wall, the presbyter Hellados donated a church in the sixth century that was built into the Roman baths south of the ancient agora.[47] We cannot say much about the members of this congregation. So far, houses have not been registered in close proximity to this building. A street covered by terrazzo pavement, which ran in Roman times from the entrance of this church along the south stoa and the baths, and passed the heroon, was most likely still intact in the sixth and seventh centuries. This street was probably also used by the residents of the houses in the agora area, when they wanted to attend the service in the Bath Church (Figure 3.2). The church of Helladius could have been the everyday church for the inhabitants of the agora if the presumed episcopal church had certain visitor restrictions.

There is also only limited information concerning the residential areas around the church east of the theatre.[48] However, this might have been the church of the inhabitants of the eastern quarter of Assos. The relationship between the early Byzantine houses in this area and the church is also defined clearly by the terrace (Figure 3.2).

The south side of the West Church abuts the Hellenistic city wall, and the other sides of the church are almost completely surrounded by houses. The church is located therefore in a tightly inhabited quarter with apparently small-scale buildings (Figure 3.2). It is richly furnished with an opus sectile floor in the narthex and mosaic floors in the naos, including two donor inscriptions, and with limestone slab revetments along the walls and a few architectural elements of Proconnesian marble.[49] The narthex was destroyed during road construction in the 1970s, thus the connection to the urban street grid can only be guessed. A narrow, paved alley runs from the northwest parallel to the long side and is connected to the exonarthex by a narrow stairway.

It appears that this building can be identified as the church of the southwestern city neighbourhood (Figure 3.2). In this area, some housing complexes were excavated. Apparently, these are middle-class buildings with smaller housing units,[50] some lying close to each other and only separated by a street 2.2 m in width (Figure 3.6). The rooms were small, measuring only about 8–42 square meters. However, the furnishings of the houses were still partly high quality. The house in the southwest was connected to the drainage channel of the road and had a toilet. In the south, a cistern was installed in a smaller chamber in the last construction phase. The adjoining

Figure 3.6 Living quarter in the vicinity of the West Church (middle), above residential house on the lower Agora. © Assos Excavation Archive.

house to the north had a terrazzo floor and built-in shelves. Access to this house was from the north, while the adjoining house could be entered from the street in the south. The house to the east was separated from the other two by the narrow street; another house is built directly to the east and against it (Figure 3.6). Although the extension has not yet been excavated, the compact houses seem to continue in a row and follow up on the other side of the street in the south.

This cramped living situation requires a close proximity and a high level of social competence since private life was restricted here and the common walls required a high degree of cooperation. The equipment and the inventory of the houses attest that the inhabitants were not very poor. The windows of the houses were partially closed with glass panes, the floors were sealed with high-quality pavements, and the walls were partially covered in tiles with incised crosses. The residents had high-quality glassware, terra sigillata tableware from Phokaia and Pergamon, and were able to afford wine from Chios and Samos.[51] The eastern end of this terrace forms the previously mentioned residence of the so-called lower agora (Figures 3.2, 3.5 and 3.6 right corner). Although it is located in close proximity to the new ecclesiastical centre, the residence opens with its entrances to the West Church and the block-like houses. All three complexes are connected by roads. The church, middle-class houses, and upper-class residences form a close neighbourhood, bordered by streets.

The structure built into the ancient gymnasion can be identified as another church (Figure 3.2), which served the inhabitants of the densely packed residential buildings. It fits nicely into the peristyle court of the sports complex, only the polygonal apse extends beyond the edges of the ancient building. The church uses the columns of the ancient peristyle as the boundary of the northern aisle. The floor of the naos was covered by an elaborate mosaic, the floor of the apse by marble slabs. The ancient gymnasion has so far only been investigated in regard to its size. It is unknown how this area was used in the Late Antique and early Byzantine periods. The walls of the former gymnasion, which still stand, are surrounded by a dense area of houses dating to the sixth century. The church is larger, splendidly furnished, and was perhaps the first choice for travellers arriving in the city since it is located directly near the important west gate. The residents who settled in the sixth century on the ancient agora could also have used this church for their daily prayer (Figure 3.2).

It is obvious that the churches of Assos are of great importance to the individual neighbourhoods. The churches occupy prominent places, which are easy to reach for the inhabitants of each neighbourhood. All the churches within the city walls are prominently visible from the sea so that visitors approaching from the sea by boat were particularly aware of the churches in each district.

A neighbourhood of hospitality

The presumable guesthouse (or xenodochion) is located directly behind the inner chamber of the West gate and is built against the Hellenistic city wall (Figures 3.2 and 3.7).[52] The extensive complex was entered from the antique paved main road.

A chapel with a single nave is attached to the guesthouse on the north-eastern side. The large room to the east once had two storeys, of which the upper floor consisted of a kind of open gallery with a dining room. The remainders of five marble sigma tables were discovered between the upper floor and a layer of roof-tile collapse.[53] Two staircases lead from the ground floor to the upper floor. One of them was installed in the west. The lower floor was probably used for service spaces; here stood several water troughs and a silo that was cut into the ground. The food from the adjacent kitchen was passed through a hatch to the service room. Directly beside the kitchen was a baking oven with an attached woodshed (Figure 3.7). Accommodations and stables probably existed in the western area. The rooms in between probably functioned as small congregation rooms, workshops for small repairs, and open court spaces.[54]

With its surrounding wall, the xenodochion forms a self-contained complex. It was accessible via several entrances from the northwest and the south. Nevertheless, the walls and the guarded gates towards the neighbourhood suggest that the xenodochion was a sheltered place and was able to provide privacy to its guests. East of the chapel, the main road branches off to a small square, on which a stone block was laid down as a bench. The paved square was perhaps a neighbourly meeting place through which

Figure 3.7 Xenodochion. © Assos Excavation Archive.

guests of the xenodochion had to pass, as the main entrance is to the south. On the south and east, close to the guesthouse, stood several residential buildings, which were connected by narrow alleys. The xenodochion was therefore constructed within a regular residential area, to which it was connected through its southern entrance. The integration of guesthouses into regular residential neighbourhoods is almost unique since it does not exist in many cities.[55] Guesthouses are usually located on tavern streets, such as in Ephesos or Sardis, or they are placed outside the centre, for example at Qal'at Sim'ān.[56]

This guesthouse might have been the reception point for visitors to the pilgrimage church, which was built in the early sixth century outside the gates of the city in the area of the ancient necropolis (Figure 3.2). Visitors and residents were directed by a corridor enclosed by walls onto the lower cemetery road, which had already been constructed in the archaic age, and now led to the pilgrimage church.[57]

At the centre of the place of pilgrimage and worship was a tomb opening, nearly 1 × 2.5 m in size, caved roughly into the rock and closed with a reused Roman sarcophagus slab. A channel covered in stone slabs leads into a grave.[58] Through the channel, liquids (oil or water) could be passed through to the tomb, and then collected in a vessel (such as an ampulla) or dabbed with a cloth. By the first half of the sixth century, the grave had been integrated into the aisle of a newly built three-aisled basilica. A baptistery with a cruciform basin was built southeast of the apse (Figure 3.2).[59] These features suggest that the pilgrimage centre served the entire region.[60]

The pilgrimage site was possibly part of a complex facility. Roughly 360 m away, the largest church of Assos (nearly 56 m in length) lies on an elongated hill (Figure 3.2).[61] The church is a three-aisled basilica with a polygonal walled apse, a transverse narthex and an atrium. To the south of the church large, rectangular buildings are visible. The whole area is surrounded by a wall with a gate in the north, through which passes a paved street flanked by columns. The juncture of this road and the necropolis road is marked by a monumental gate (Figure 3.2), whose interior pillars support a lintel adorned with an engraved Christogram. Perhaps the encircled complex on the hill was a monastery whose inhabitants were responsible for running the pilgrimage site.[62]

The houses of a neighbourhood

The borders of Assos' neighbourhoods can be drawn based on the geomorphology of the steep terrain and the streets. The houses in the south-western part of the city are now only recognizable by rubble heaps and by the remaining door stones of the entrances. The arrangement of door stones indicates that the houses were oriented in a disorderly fashion. The city of Assos might have been arranged in Hellenistic times according to an orthogonal system,[63] but the early Byzantine building area certainly did not follow any pattern (Figure 3.2). The houses have varying sizes and forms, and some of them appear to have had enclosure walls. A reconstructed plan of the city quarter allows many of these buildings to be identified as courtyard houses, which appeared rather inaccessible from the outside because of their plain walls. Life took place inside, in the courts.

It seems that certain structures and environments, such as living within the closed walls of courtyard houses, have remained the same in Byzantium across geographic, temporal, and social boundaries. In the middle Byzantine village Boğazköy (near Çorum, in central Anatolia), the nature of activities within the courtyards of the homesteads can be determined. The larger courtyard building, surrounded by one- or two-room village houses, has three courts; two of these were used for different areas of activities. One court appears to have been shaded from the west by a large canvas sheet, of which the attachment pegs have been preserved. The finds suggest that this court was used as an open extension of the adjacent room. The area to the north and east of a silo in the court was used for minor industrial activities. Numerous tools for woodworking were found here, thus it is possible that a craftsman produced his carved works and small wood items. The north-western corner of the second yard, however, seems to have been used rather by women who, according to the finds from this context, were using knives and sewing needles for needlework.[64] Courtyard houses with areas for various activities within the enclosure are, in addition to this example in Boğazköy, confirmed for many locations during the late Byzantine time, for example, as in Pergamon.[65]

Apart from the courtyard houses in Assos, there are also detached smaller rectangular houses. They consist of compact room units arranged beside each other, much like the modern apartment buildings. In these, life took place within a much tighter space, neighbours lived side-by-side and were visibly more present, and it was harder to separate oneself from the others.

In Assos, upscale houses were located in the same neighbourhoods as "normal" dwellings. The house to the west and on top of the erstwhile temple is in close proximity to the poorer buildings in the entrance of the former agora. The residence on the southwest corner of the lower agora terrace is in the vicinity of the area with closely built houses with the cistern (Figure 3.2). None of the buildings are distinguished by their materials; all of them are constructed from irregular stones bonded with earth, and therefore, have an irregular appearance. The Christian symbols (graffiti with crosses, medallions, and Christograms) that have been placed on the entrances of many houses are surely not signs of affluence but piety.

Among the building types, we find courtyard houses, conglomerates of rooms, block-formed houses, and small "single-family" homes with two to three rooms. Buildings with several rooms, which we so far label as conglomerates of rooms, and courtyard houses were mostly inhabited by the upper and middle classes of Assos.[66] The floors consist of stone pavers or levelled and smoothed bedrock, rarely of terracotta tiles or terrazzo. In excavated houses of this type we found objects that indicate a certain level of affluence, large numbers of imported wares, many glass vessels, and pieces of jewellery.

Only very small houses of poor appearance had a floor of pounded earth. In many houses, benches are installed as fixed furniture; they were not only restricted to the more affluent classes. Kitchens, however, are only found in the better-furnished residence on the lower agora terrace and the xenodochion (Figures 3.5 and 3.7). The latter even had a water supply leading to the upper floor. The neighbourhood insulae above the agora and the one above the West Church, are, like the West Church itself, equipped with drainage channels. Many houses have storage spaces, silos, wells, and cisterns. Provisioning against hunger was therefore not an activity of the entire city, but each household separately. The neighbourhood existed in this respect as a spatial fact, but taking care of daily life was the duty of each household by itself. This is attested in each case by the independent provisioning using storage vessels, wells, and cisterns in separate residential buildings. Such a lifestyle, less dependent on any urban community, is more reminiscent of rural arrangements than of close-knit urban neighbourhoods.

Courtyard houses, freestanding houses, and compact houses with several rooms were all situated in close spatial proximity to each other in quarters delimited by streets and enclosure walls (Figure 3.2). The houses of the upper and middle classes of Assos are situated in the western and south-western city. The separation from the lower classes happened apparently through the terraces. The poor inventory of a house with only two rooms on the terrace west of the theatre, beneath the previously described terraces, implies that it stood within a less wealthy quarter.

Summary

During the reconstruction of the city after the first earthquake in the second half of the fifth century, the residential area was rebuilt completely and without any recognizable system (Figure 3.2). The public centre was now located around a church and presumably a bishop's palace. Of this, so far only the audience hall has been recorded (Figure 3.4). The five churches within the city and the three outside the city were in some instances decorated lavishly. They show, together with the other large buildings (such as the audience hall, the xenodochion, the villa on the lower agora, and the residential building near the temple on the former agora), that the city and its inhabitants were affluent.

Nevertheless, one must imagine the early Byzantine city of Assos as a small representative settlement with narrow, winding streets faced by high walls without windows. So far, only a few squares can be recognized, and no public wells were identified that could have served as meeting places (Figure 3.2). Many of the streets are in any case too narrow to be sites of anything more than fleeting encounters. By contrast, some houses had wells and cisterns integrated into their rooms, and, as mentioned before, there were no public fountains situated on squares. Obviously, life was turned inwards rather than outwards to the streets, and evidently, the spacious interior courts were used as meeting places.

However, there seems to have been at least one meeting place in the neighbourhood. On the main street, which was narrowed down in the sixth century and runs from the west gate at the former gymnasion to the residential neighbourhood in the east, a bench was set on the paving of the street (Figure 3.8). The bench, made up of two-column bases and a door lintel, was erected near the entrance to the former gymnasion, inside of which a church was built in the sixth century. This seat may have served as a place for neighbourly communication on the street or before visiting the church.

The example of Assos illustrates how neighbours in a residential area could interact, and that the priority of the inhabitants of each separate building in regard to social cohesion was the provisioning. The residential districts were not separated according to social classes. In Assos, apparently, the poor and rich lived close together. People lived rather separately in courtyard houses, conglomerates of rooms, or single-family homes. The houses were opened with their windows towards the interior, while their exterior walls were usually punctured by only a single door. Lanes and alleys

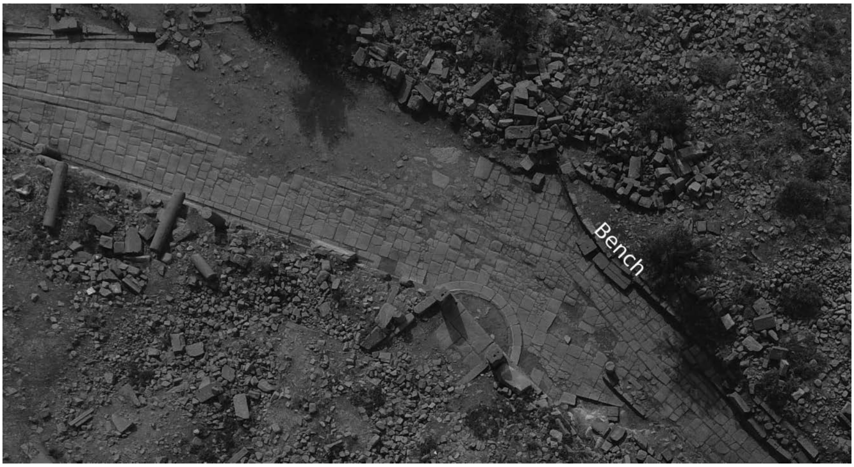

Figure 3.8 Bench on the street in front of the old entrance to the gymnasion with the Byzantine church. © Assos Excavation Archive.

were narrow and winding; with their closed façades, they were not appropriate for a stroll. Springs and wells as central meeting points did not exist, since they were placed inside the buildings. People in Assos probably visited each other or met up in one of the few public spaces, or more likely, in the churches.

Notes

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20 Böhlendorf-Arslan, "Glorious Sixth Century," 240–243.

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32 Böhlendorf-Arslan, "Glorious Sixth Century," 227–228, fig. 13.1; Böhlendorf-Arslan, "Nothing to Remember," 21–24 fig. 3.1.
33 Böhlendorf-Arslan, "Glorious Sixth Century," 228; Böhlendorf-Arslan, "Nothing to Remember," 23. On the stratigraphy of the Northern Stoa, see Nurettin Arslan, "Neue Forschungen zur Agora von Assos," in *Assos: Neue Forschungsergebnisse zur Baugeschichte und Archäologie der südlichen Troas*, Asia Minor Studien 78, ed. Nurettin Arslan, Eva-Maria Mohr, and Klaus Rheidt (Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt, 2016), 87–106, here at 89–91 colour plate 8.
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54 Böhlendorf-Arslan, "Glorious Sixth Century," 238–239 fig. 13.10.

55 An exception is the guesthouse in Boğazköy: Böhlendorf-Arslan, *Ḫattuša*, 184–185.

56 Sabine Ladstätter, "Forschungen in der Türkei: Ephesos," *Wissenschaftlicher Jahresbericht des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts 2015*, ed. Sabine Ladstätter (Vienna: Holzhausen Druck, 2015), 5–49, here at 14–15; Anthea Harris, "Shops, Retailing and the Local Economy in the Early Byzantine World: The Example of Sardis," in *Secular Buildings and the Archaeology of Everyday Life in the Byzantine Empire*, ed. Ken Dark (Oxford: Oxbow Books 2004), 82–122, here at 113; Georges Tchalenko, *Villages antiques de la Syrie du Nord: Le massif du Bélus a l'époque Romaine* I (Paris: Geuthner, 1953), 205–222.

57 Böhlendorf-Arslan, "Glorious Sixth Century," 240 fig. 13.6.

58 Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan, "Die Ayazmakirche in Assos: Lokales Pilgerheiligtum und Grabkirche," in *Assos: Neue Forschungsergebnisse zur Baugeschichte und Archäologie der südlichen Troas. Asia Minor Studien* 78, ed. Nurettin Arslan, Eva-Maria Mohr, and Klaus Rheidt (Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt, 2016), 205–220, here at 205–206.

59 Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan, "Forschungen zum spätantiken und byzantinischen Assos," in Nurettin Arslan and Klaus Rheidt, "Assos: Bericht über die Ausgrabungen und Forschungen zur Stadtentwicklungsgeschichte 2006 bis 2011," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 2013/1: 232–234 fig. 41; Böhlendorf-Arslan, "Ayazmakirche," 207 fig. 1; Böhlendorf-Arslan, "Assos," 222–223 fig. 16.5; Böhlendorf-Arslan, "Glorious Sixth Century," fig. 13.11.

60 The pilgrim church was visited until the end of the middle-Byzantine period: Böhlendorf-Arslan, "Forschungen," 230–238; Böhlendorf-Arslan, "Ayazmakirche." For local pilgrimage centres in Asia Minor, see Andreas Külzer, "Pilgerzentren in Kleinasien: Heilige, Orte und Wege," in *Für Seelenheil und Lebensglück: Das byzantinische Pilgerwesen und seine Wurzeln,* ed. Despoina Ariantzi and Ina Eichner (Mainz: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, 2018), 163–174; Urs Peschlow, "The Cemetery Church at Tepecik Necropolis of Patara: A Preliminary Report," in *From Sand into a City: 25 Years of Patara Excavations*, Patara VI.1, ed. Havva I. Işkan and Fahri Işık (Istanbul: Ege Yayınları, 2015), 462–474.

61 Böhlendorf-Arslan, "Assos in byzantinischer Zeit," 129; Böhlendorf-Arslan, "Nothing to Remember," 153; Böhlendorf-Arslan, "Assos," 223.

62 Böhlendorf-Arslan, "Glorious Sixth Century," 238–239 fig. 13.10; Arslan et al., "Assos Kazısı 2016," 393–394 fig. 7–9; Arslan et al., "Assos Kazısı 2015," 55–56 fig. 4–5.

63 Mohr and Rheidt, "Assossurvey," 142–143.

64 Böhlendorf-Arslan, *Ḫattuša*, 198 and 208 fig. 144.

65 Rheidt, *Altertümer von Pergamon*, 35–140 and 209–211.

66 See Ellis, "Middle Class Houses."

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4 Urban space and collective action in Late Antique Arsinoë

Amy Papalexandrou, William Caraher, and R. Scott Moore[1]

In Memory of Philoptochos Father Demetrios Constantelos

In this chapter, we explore the immediate surroundings of an Early Christian basilica (hereafter the "South Basilica") at the archaeological site of Polis Chrysochous (Ancient Arsinoë), in Cyprus (Figure 4.1). We consider how a religious structure, together with the people who built and inhabited it, may have influenced the formation and spatial organization of one particular area within this small and remote city on the island. At Polis, no residential spaces have been securely identified, which is to say that we

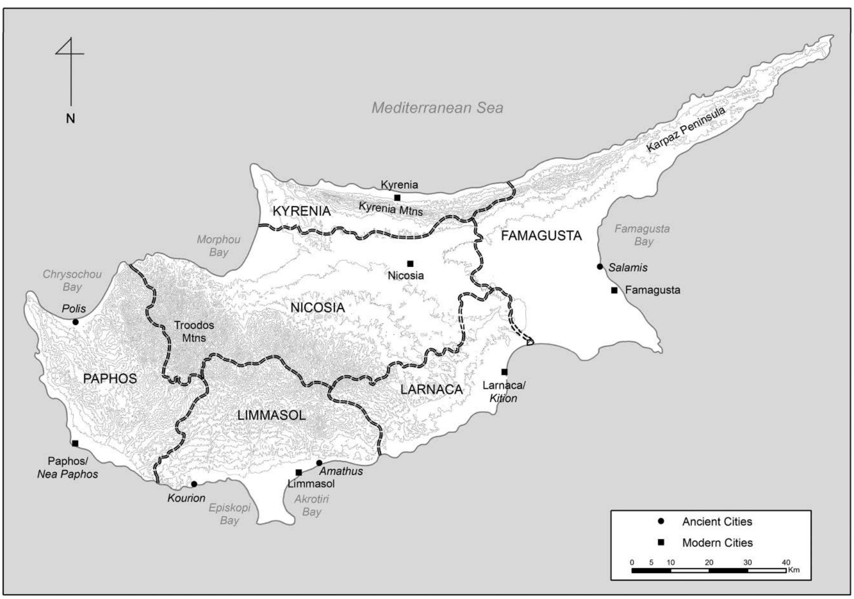

Figure 4.1 Map of Cyprus showing sites mentioned in the text. R. Scott Moore and William Caraher.

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must move beyond the temptation to equate only excavated, residential architecture with "neighbourhoods." In our case it is the co-operative, collective activities – the joining in – that we envision as being embodied in the neighbourhood of the South Basilica. We understand co-operative labour and common experience here to have been transformative, not only through united assembly and concerted action (the rebuilding of an older church and its surroundings) but also through the making of new collective memories that bind people together. We are, thus, primarily concerned with a medium-sized basilica that, despite its modest size, would have dominated its spatial environment.[2] Only its foundations survive today, so that we must only imagine its superstructure. Despite this, we can gauge from the surviving material evidence (fresco fragments, architectural sculpture, mosaic, built tombs) that it was doubtless one of the most important and revered public buildings within the city. Here, then, we perceive the workings of a Byzantine neighbourhood even in the absence of excavated houses.

Despite the small size of the neighbourhood, a bishop presided here, so that residents living nearby will have known their spiritual shepherd, and he the needs of his flock.[3] The church edifice itself undoubtedly played a large role in the residents' lives, sending a constant stream of visible and audible cues that drew the local populace from the surrounding neighbourhoods into this more monumental space for the services, events, fellowship, and human contact they received there. It was, therefore, likely an anchoring point for other neighbourhoods close by. This new building would have determined an entirely new spatial environment, one that fits neatly into the fabric of a small, pre-existing urban arena already defined by an earlier street grid.[4] Although previously a hub of workshops stretching back to Hellenistic and Roman times, the immediate area where the church stood appears to have been largely neglected for several centuries before emerging as a new "civic-ceremonial zone."[5] The visibility of the church, however, ensured that its construction had critics as well as adherents, and we can only wonder about how this area was understood by local residents, and the impact of what was likely a forceful clergy and a devout populace that prevailed in supporting the new project. Our focus here rests primarily on this late sixth- to mid-seventh-century basilica, the construction of which will have ultimately created a prominent and vital presence in this north-western-most area of the island. We briefly attempt to tie this monumental endeavour to three theoretical premises: those of "communities of practice," "conviviality," and "*communitas*." These three notions offer ways to unpack the social relations and practices that played a role in carrying out this building project in the small city of ancient Arsinoë.

Late Antique archaeology at Polis Chrysochous/Arsinoë

The site of Polis Chrysochous (Ancient Marion/Arsinoë), in north-western Cyprus, has been an attraction for archaeologists since the Swedish Cyprus

Expedition began their scientific exploration of the island in the late 1920s. Their work, together with two early projects of Rupert Gunnis, in 1927, was among the first controlled excavations in the area of Polis. The Swedish Expedition focused primarily on tombs located within several promising ridges to the east of town, from which thousands of ancient Greek artefacts (Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman) now populate the museums of Europe and the United States.[6] Gunnis' work, on the other hand, was far less extensive in scope and resources.[7] He turned his attention to two sites near the northern edge of the modern town. These would be excavated anew 56 years later by a team from Princeton University which conducted yearly campaigns of excavation and study from 1984 until 2010. The Princeton team recovered six sites in all, two of which feature a mid-size Early Christian basilica (the 'South Basilica' and the 'North Basilica'). The two buildings are situated approximately 200 meters apart, or a five-minute walk from each other along the main road of the modern town leading north to Chrysochou Bay. Today the two areas are completely separated from each other by houses and fields that have been confiscated by the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus. In the case of the South Basilica, the Princeton team recovered subsidiary structures, streets, tombs, evidence of manufacturing,[8] and clear vestiges of water management.[9] In the North Basilica we have far less evidence of the surrounding context than we have for the area around the church to the south. Our focus, therefore, rests largely on the remains of the South Basilica, with a brief mention of an important component of the North Basilica that speaks directly to the notion of collective work/action within the space of monumental religious architecture.[10]

Our team has focused on and problematized the South Basilica and its environs as an urban or semi-urban district since 2013. We have studied the diachronic character of this site together with colleagues specializing in earlier antiquity (Hellenistic and Roman levels). Together we hope to be able to document the transformation of a single district over time through its almost 1,000 years of existence. In this chapter, we confine our research to the sixth and seventh centuries as we attempt to discern how religious architecture and infrastructure within the space of a surrounding neighbourhood can convey notions of belonging and local collectiveness in Late Antiquity.

We focus largely on what we envision as two small but bustling areas of the city towards its northern edge. These buildings would have been crucial and highly visible focal points acting as spiritual, intellectual, philanthropic, performative, and, of course, religious centres within the city. Most of our attention will be focused on the area around the South Basilica, which features a number of satellite buildings, as well as roads, water networks, a well house, and perhaps, small industrial establishments. We, unfortunately, have no secure evidence for contemporary Late Antique houses at Polis. Despite the absence of domestic structures, there is ample evidence for the work and life of the community in the city. We also consider the place of the bishop as an important political player within this arena. Cyprus enjoyed a special place and exceptional privileges within the realm of the Orthodox Church. Not only was the island famously autocephalous it was also overseen by a large cadre of bishops (typically 14, one for each of the original city-kingdoms of Cyprus).[11] Indeed, as the church historian Sozomenos (vii. 19) informs us in his fifth-century *Ecclesiastical History*, "there were bishops (plural) in Cyprus – even in the villages."[12] The city discussed here was no exception, and we explore briefly that phenomenon and consider some of its possible implications.

Polis Chrysochous

The modern town of Polis Chrysochous is a mid-size, remote settlement located just south of the Chrysochou Bay in north-western Cyprus. It has easy access to the sea (a ten-minute walk from the Princeton excavation and the two basilica sites). The precise location of its ancient harbour remains unclear. It was located either near the modern beach of Polis or four kilometres to the west at what is now the small fishing village of Latsi.[13] Three kilometres to the east of Polis are the remains of the Limni copper mines – one of the many important mining sites that skirt the Troodos Mountains.[14] The mines are now defunct but still visible and easily reachable by car. Actively exploited throughout antiquity and into the 1970s, they provided this part of the island with copper ore, vestiges of which are still apparent in many of the excavated sites of the Princeton project, where copper slag often abounds in the excavation scarps and attests to the city's wealth in the distant past.[15]

The Polis region nowadays feels like the backcountry – quiet, conservative, and prosperous, as it must also have been in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. The teeming city of Paphos feels far away, even though it lies just 17 kilometres to the south over the high foothills of the Troodos Mountains. The local dialect, with its many echoes of ancient Greek, survives here. Indeed, the Paphos television station delivers their news program in the local *Paphitika* dialect.

Two ancient cities preceded the present Polis Chrysochous. The first, ancient Marion, was one of the 12 Classical city-kingdoms of the island; destroyed by Ptolemy-Soter in 312 BCE, it was eventually re-established and renamed by his son, Ptolemy Philadelphos, to honour his sister-wife and queen, Arsinoë, in 270 BCE. This name survived until the later Middle Ages, at which time the town became, simply, Polis or Polis Chrysochous ('city flowing with gold'). We refer to it here as Arsinoë, its name from the Roman period into the Middle Ages.

Like all such settlements on the island, the modern town sits upon antiquities and probably the core of the ancient settlement. Vestiges of Late Antique sites are apparent but often extremely fragmentary. Both basilicas were robbed generations ago and almost nothing survives above the level of their foundations. When standing, however, both churches would have been visible from the sea. The North Basilica was built on a low promontory overlooking the Chrysochou Bay, and the South Basilica lies some 250 metres to the southwest on a high ridge of land that slopes gently downhill toward the coastal plain. In later centuries both sites may have served as convenient quarries and were easy prey for sailors coasting around the island as well as locals in search of ready building materials.[16] Indeed, the landholder of the North Basilica was regularly conducting illegal excavations until the property was seized by the Department of Antiquities in the early 1980s.[17]

The situation of Arsinoë in Late Antiquity offers an image of tremendous growth and optimistic endeavours. These were visible in new building projects and also in the smaller *realia* of daily life that openly declared a new confidence within what was now a thoroughly Christian population. It is perhaps tempting to consider the Late Roman town and its countryside as "provincial," especially considering the fragmentary nature of the site, but it is worth remembering that these smaller communities are as important as the grandiose cities of the empire, for they offer us a fuller picture of the human experience in the past. In any case, Arsinoë, though small, tells a similar story to what we understand of the larger and wealthier communities on the island in Late Antiquity – that of monumental endeavours and a thriving economy.[18] This was especially true of the later sixth to mid-seventh century in the western region of the island. Quite simply, it was boom time in Cyprus.[19]

The North Basilica

The North Basilica is especially interesting for its longevity, stretching from Late Antiquity to the later Middle Ages and extending as late as the Venetian occupation of the island (Figure 4.2).[20] Situated just south of the remains of a large Hellenistic building of unknown function, the North Basilica takes the overall form of a rather typical, mid-sized basilica with three aisles terminating to the east in two semi-circular side apses surrounding a faceted central apse. Highly unusual for Cyprus, however, is a third apse located in the middle of its long north wall, a feature that is also found at the oratory of Hagios Tychon at Amathus, a well-known pilgrimage site located on the south coast of the island just north of Larnaca.[21] In Late Antiquity, this church was a famous destination for pilgrims travelling to the south coast to worship at the grave of Saint John the Almoner, who was buried there.[22] This suggests a possible "intercity collectivity" across the island, perhaps as shared knowledge of methods of accommodating sainthood within the Polis.[23] The common method of marking the special place of a saint within a church may also indicate that Arsinoë was a stop along the island-wide pilgrimage route that offered a broader context for certain shared practices of representation. In this sense, such familiar and recognizable spaces may appear across the island (and even abroad) creating a sense of community that extends beyond the spatial limits of a neighbourhood, but presents a similar sense of social cohesion and shared experience.

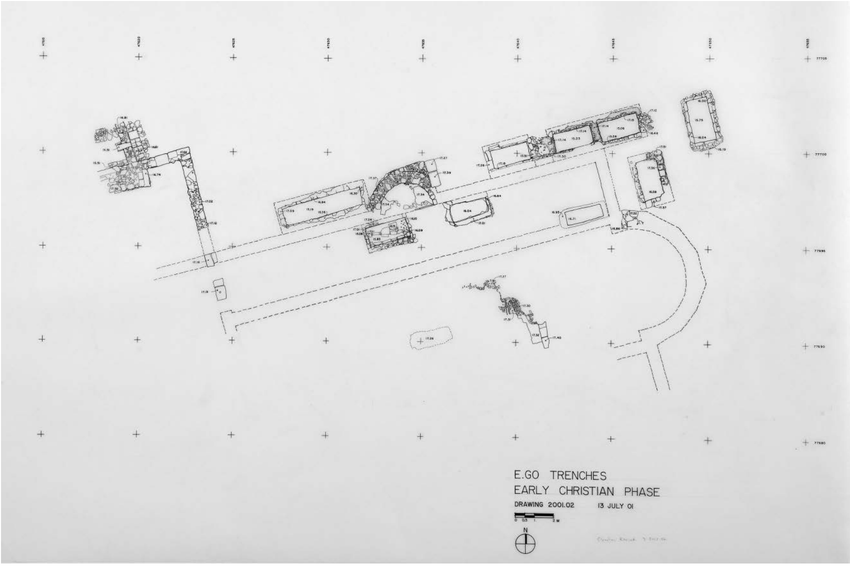

Figure 4.2 Plan of the North Basilica with ossuaries; oil press at far left. Image courtesy: the Princeton-Cyprus Expedition.

Also of interest in this context is the possibility of travelling masons, or guilds (συστήματα), the members of which may have been sharing ideas as well as building practices.[24] This is potentially interesting for how we might imagine communal workshops to have operated in Late Antiquity, although we know next to nothing about them since their building methods and craft were (presumably) transmitted orally from one generation to the next, perhaps using techniques that were considered to be trade secrets, and therefore not written down. Still, it does not seem far-fetched to imagine travelling workers themselves forming discrete, if temporary, groups within Late Antique neighbourhoods which, in turn, would experience dramatic changes in infrastructure and surroundings through the sudden influx of workers. We should expect dirt, noise, interruption, and a sharing of space that was not always comfortable or agreeable. This shares some parallels with the 'communities of practice' in our own time, where field service workers (for example, the photocopy repairman) are part of a community of members who share technical skills in a traditional way.[25]

Over the last 20 years, the concept of *communities of practice* has emerged as a useful concept for understanding the emergence and structuring of educational and occupational communities.[26] The term offers an effective way to articulate how practice produces community, identity, and knowledge.[27] For the district around the South Basilica, evidence for practice in the Late Roman period ranges from habits of consumption, such as the preference for Cypriot Red Slip wares over other imported tablewares, to those associated with the architectural modification of the church itself.[28] In fact, the informal transmission of building knowledge that likely produced the buttressed walls of the South Basilica reflected the existence of communities of knowledge in Late Roman Cyprus. In this context, then, the physical location of the church, at the edge of the Late Roman city, represented a point of contact. While under construction and modification, the church became a meeting ground for the distinctive requirements of the site, the liturgical needs of the local community, and the bodies and knowledge of the itinerant builders. As a completed monument, the church stood between the Christian community of Arsinoë and the travellers or even pilgrims who passed through the region.

It is generally assumed that workshops were temporary organizations that came together for a project and then disbanded, suggesting that communities of practice in antiquity might well be more fluid than their hyperspecialized modern counterparts.[29] The *Vita* of St. Theodore of Sykeon contains several interesting anecdotes of villagers working together to quarry rocks or to build a chapel or church. The inhabitants of the small towns around Euarzia (in Asia Minor) came together in just such a way to quarry lime for a new church – many came from neighbouring villages to help despite the dangerous nature of the work, for which the intervention of the saint came in quite handy.[30] In any case, it is not difficult to find instances of cooperation among residents. Local labour likely contributed both to the initial building and later modifications of these churches: local families may have quarried the stone, fired the tiles, and established the networks of functions that symbolized the local community. It is through consideration of such cooperation that we can perceive the North Basilica as evidence for neighbourhood solidarity, even in the absence of excavated residential architecture. The practical experiences of constructing these buildings both encouraged practices that defined or extended the space of neighbourhoods and created a sense of shared identity that reinforced a sense of community.

It is clear that the sense of community forged by the construction of the North Basilica extended to the distinctive ritual life of the building. At some point in Late Antiquity, the North Basilica saw the addition of a series of large and exceptionally deep ossuary pits along its northern flank. This is a characteristic similarly shared by the aforementioned church of Hagios Tychon at Amathus.[31] The subsurface chambers of both these churches were filled with commingled burials containing disarticulated bones, bronze buckles, coins, etc. At Arsinoë the analysis of these artefacts is still underway, but the contents of both churches appear to date to the seventh century.[32] Such similarities between churches on the island raise questions about possible connections with the important island settlements that were well-known pilgrimage sites. The role of these features for burial connects the communities of practice associated with the construction of the well-made ossuary pits, with shared practices of burial and pilgrimage creating social connections that resonated at local and island-wide levels.

Excavations at the North Basilica also revealed the existence of an olive press discovered in two or possibly three rooms located just to the north of the church. The pressing wheel survives, broken and removed from its original location, as does a constructed passage for the flow of oil from one room into the next, where a pithos would have received and stored the oil. The association of olive presses and churches is common in Cyprus and speaks to the intermingling of economic, social, and religious activity.[33] This presumes an important function among parishioners, lay workers, and clergy for this community: the collection and distribution of olive oil and its use in daily life, as well as in the liturgy and burial practices. Like the forms of practice that defined movements of individuals involved in the construction and worship at the church, the seasonal routine of the olive harvest and pressing of the fruit would have defined the spatial relationship between the church and the community, and defined a neighbourhood that was not only bound to its space within the urban fabric but also extended into the countryside. The presence of the olive press may have also played an important role in the funerary function implied by the ossuaries. The presence of a press here surely indicates a powerful means to bring people to this particular neighbourhood, whether it be for economic or spiritual benefit, or both. It presumes a gathering of many individuals who must work together to produce the oil as a complex, productive unit; it also presupposes a large body of believers who have gathered to receive it.

This calls to mind theories of conviviality, especially those espoused by Michael Given in his recent work on water-powered grain mills and the medieval sugar plantations of Cyprus.[34] The notion of mutual dependencies and interconnectedness is key here, and in the case of the olive press a sizable workforce would have been needed for the oilery north of the narthex. Given's attention to the activities of the *entire* workforce (both human and non-human) and the necessary "convivial tools" – in this case, the people who used the rods, blankets and baskets for picking the olives, the donkeys who transported them, the human power involved in sorting, washing, and processing the olives, the grinding stone used to crush the fruit into pulp, the settling vats that received the oil and the humans who poured it into containers – all those who joined together in performing their respective roles so that the work proceeded unhindered and the essential collaboration of all involved was both convivial and meaningful.

At the North Basilica, we lack additional information alluding to the infrastructure of a surrounding neighbourhood, but the intermingling of the church with the processing of olive oil suggests everyday activities that nourished a vibrant community, both physically and emotionally. It is the church that provides a variety of ways for members of the community to interact and define the spatial setting of seasonal, ritual, and everyday activities. The use and consumption of olive oil and the experiences that it would afford bear the potential to distinguish it from other neighbourhoods in the city. The oilery thus becomes an essential material aspect that draws people in and contributes to the neighbourhood's importance. Moreover, the connection between the oil press and the groves from which the olives come presents another example of how neighbourhoods provide a physical context for communities of practice that need not be spatially constrained but produce familiar places through shared experience.

Our work in dating this church and studying its parts is just beginning, and so we cannot yet speak with authority about the function of the ossuaries and other related questions. We include this basilica merely to indicate that it, too, will have been the most important building of its surrounding district, separate from but in close proximity to the South Basilica – the primary focus of our chapter.

The South Basilica

The South Basilica was one of the first buildings excavated by the Princeton team in 1984 (Figure 4.3).[35] It was laid out as a typical Early Christian basilica with three aisles terminating in three apses to the east and

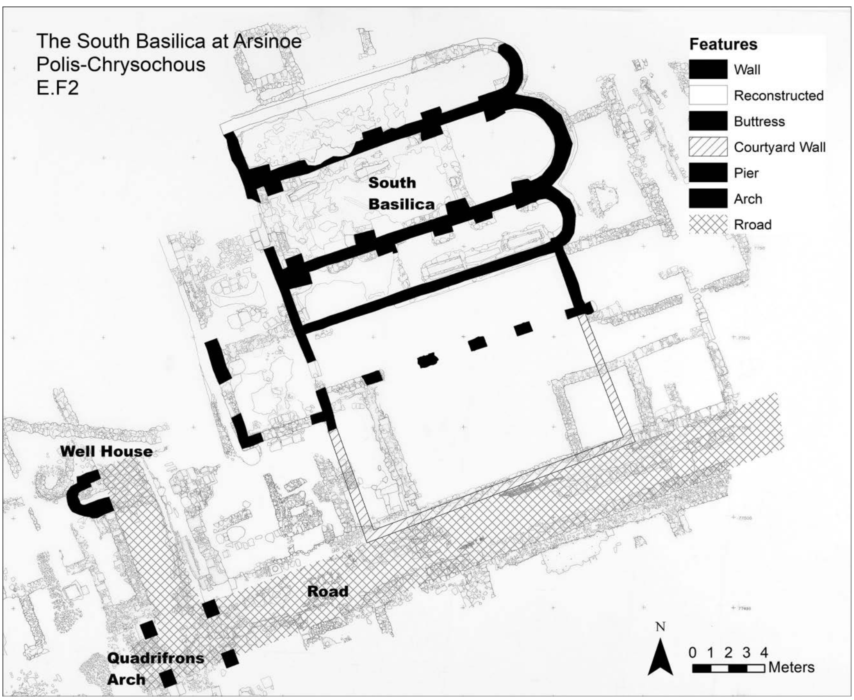

Figure 4.3 Plan of the South Basilica with well house, quadrifrons arch, south portico, and surrounding roads. R. Scott Moore and William Caraher.

originally covered by a timber roof. Little is known of its interior arrangement since almost nothing survives above the level of the foundations. Its initial construction is now firmly dated, on the basis of the ceramic evidence, to the mid- to late sixth century, with later additions in the seventh. These included a new barrel vault as well as a narthex, south portico, and an annexe that connected these two spaces. What is especially interesting is that the church lacked these rooms for perhaps the initial two decades of its existence. In other words, we should perhaps entertain the notion that the South Basilica at Arsinoë, and perhaps others like it on Cyprus, may have typically been piecemeal constructions.[36] This would seem to make sense, for the expansion of these religious buildings may have been possible only as fortunes grew and the will to add, rebuild, and/or repair could be realized. The local community would have needed to gather resources over time (capital, as well as materials) in order to begin such an ambitious project, not to mention the possibility of an extended wait for itinerant crews of workmen to appear. The gradual expansion of these important religious structures through later additions is likely to have been a general tendency throughout the island and, perhaps, throughout the Mediterranean in general.

Especially revealing at the South Basilica is the ceramic evidence that has allowed us to date these additions with some degree of precision. The narthex and south portico were built consecutively and date to sometime after the middle of the seventh century.[37] That they are later additions is certain: neither the narthex nor the portico is bonded with the walls of the church, and each relies on the standing walls of the initial building (the naos) for structural support. The narthex gave on to a large, square annexe that separated (but also united) these three spaces. The south portico was supported by the south wall of the church and was, therefore, added last.[38] Renovations were also made at this time to the central aisle, where the original timber roof was replaced by a more stable and fireproof masonry barrel vault. The five buttresses along the interior and exterior walls supported this vault.[39] Nearly all Late Antique and Medieval buildings on the island exhibit this piling on of masonry and buttressing, which attests to the community awareness of the need for constant reinforcing in a region that experienced its share of earthquakes.[40]

These later renovations are crucial to our understanding of this building. They point to the importance of the church as the primary focal point within the surrounding district where, due to its size, centrality, and spiritual gravitas, it will have been a premier landmark within the city. Its preservation and maintenance must have been paramount, and the various additions and replacements (narthex, annexe, south portico, barrel vault, and buttresses) testify to the importance of this edifice as well as the efforts of the local community in carrying out these new additions to the building.

Water

The rebuilding of the South Basilica was more than simply a redesign of the church. It was also a construction project that involved a massive layer of large rubble and fill to the south of the church, in what appears to have been intended as a courtyard. This area of very large cobble, building debris, and broken ceramics was over a meter deep and, we believe, functioned as a French drain – a large reservoir for facilitating the flow of water down the north slope of the city toward the vulnerable south wall of the church building.[41] This adaptation appears to have been a local solution to the particular local problem of the church's situation across the route of a drainage. Earlier Roman and Hellenistic construction in the area featured a number of deep drains – it would appear, to control the downslope flow of water in the area. These deep drains may not have been functional by the Late Roman period so that the French drain to the south of the basilica offered a new and unique solution to the longstanding problem of water at this site.

In general, the entire area seems to have been shaped by its hydraulic situation. This was clearly a challenge for the district, in that the downslope flow tended to be destructive as it undermined (and continues to undermine) the building. At the same time, it offered an opportunity, as drains and basins stabilized the space around the church and ensured its persistence and the continued utility of this space. In addition, wells provided access to water for a range of activities including what appears to have been a public well house. Moreover, the construction of this feature involved a significant investment of human energy and commitment to rebuilding the damaged church. The filling of the ground in the area south of the church must have been a remarkable community endeavour that provided a level and consistent substrate for the basilica's courtyard.[42] This is banal but extremely important. Such a project would certainly have marked a period of substantial investment in the neighbourhood, and the construction or repair of a new church, with its south-facing courtyard, produced a subtle monument to community action and cohesion that commemorated local knowledge, energy, and religious fervour.

It is interesting here to speculate about earlier structures that may have been dismantled to make way for the new church. In other areas of the neighbourhood small domestic spaces may have shared space with or near workshops. These were attested by clay-lined pits filled with slag that had been exposed to great heat. A Roman-period kiln was also found just east of the church, and recent finds have emerged indicating glass production in the area. The early days of this neighbourhood of Arsinoë, then, were likely reserved for small-scale industrial production, as it had been in earlier centuries. Although the evidence so far is slim, the area of the church may have traditionally been a rather marginal industrial zone as it clearly was in Hellenistic and Roman times.[43]

Although it appears that the area of the church had been abandoned for some centuries prior to the building of the South Basilica, there is still reason to wonder whether the construction of the church displaced people, or if the land was appropriated. Was there agreement about these interventions? Perhaps such issues would have been discussed by the affected community and moderated by the bishop in Arsinoë. References to decurions and *proedria* of the boule (presidency or leadership of the city council) exist in papyri of the sixth century; references to the boule exist also for the seventh century, apparently from provincial areas.[44] Claudia Rapp envisions the Late Antique polis as an organized community, "a structured organization, with its citizen lists and magistracies…where the idea of city as a community of members had great purchase in Christian thought."[45] We should perhaps imagine lively debate as well as serious action on the part of those who lived, worked, and administered in this district. Attempts to curb the disastrous effects of water would certainly have engendered the support of the local community in the immediate area. All this effort may have required substantial organization, funding, and leadership together with a general consensus about the project.

The South Portico

Perhaps one of the most significant and evocative spaces within the South Basilica was the now-lost South Portico (Figure 4.4). This space must have been exceptionally important in the overall schema of the building. As is visible from the plan (Figure 4.3), it was completely separate from the interior of the church and, therefore, not part of the sacred space within (there are no doors connecting it to the south aisle). Unfortunately, it was almost completely eradicated in a single day in 1985 due to overzealous excavators on the Princeton team.[46] Most of the evidence for this component of the church was promptly dismantled. Photographs, together with the architect's drawings, have helped us to flesh out its characteristics. Five massive sandstone blocks were contemporary with the deep rubble and gravel fill south of the church and supported the columns, or perhaps piers, that in turn will have supported five spacious, open arches overhead. We assume a timber shed roof here rather than vaulting, although the latter is also a possibility.

Porticoes were (and in many places still are) essential elements within the streetscapes of the Mediterranean.[47] They of course offer shade in summer and protection from the wind and rains in winter. They can also be preemptive, as a means to mitigate against earthquake damage, acting almost as a bulwark between building sections.[48] Perhaps the Late Antique builders understood this. Porticoes are for gatherings, as well as places to retire for a moment of quiet. An unruly child may be whisked here from the liturgy, or a parishioner may seek its external refuge in a fit of coughing during the liturgy. Mention should be made of the sensory qualities of porticoes: their airiness, the element of light, and the patterns on the ground that are created

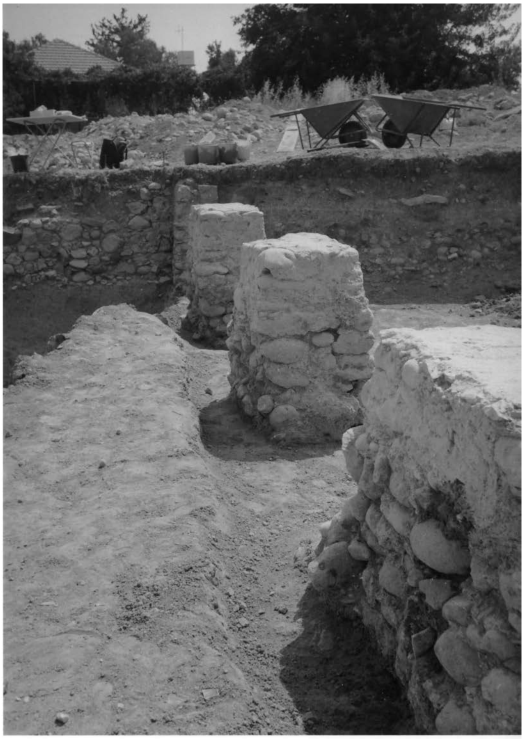

Figure 4.4 South portico of the basilica showing the apsidal well house. Image courtesy: the Princeton-Cyprus Expedition.

by the arcades. According to John Onians, they are part of "the journey of conversion" (appropriate for a church),[49] whereas Mary Carruthers sees in them "an aid to contemplation" and, in communal contexts, a chance to "address the places of the city" by which she is implying that the portico's columns, in antiquity (and still in Late Antiquity), were often inscribed.[50] While we do not have any inscriptions on our non-existent columns, there are plenty of attestations to this custom in the lapidaries of the archaeological museums throughout the island, for instance, a fragmentary column of grey marble in the Paphos Archaeological Museum donated by "Aristion, daughter of Aristocrates," was most likely a gift towards the construction or restoration of a portico and a fitting memorial to her father.[51] This was a place to "give address to the places of the city," [52] that is, to hold forth – to be seen and heard. Perhaps community benefactors in Arsinoë similarly dedicated such columns to their city on the construction of the South Portico. When vaulted, of course, the portico echoes – the sonic qualities of these spaces are irresistible. They invite us to whistle and shout. We should remember that the Late Antique visitor to the portico had not yet lost his (or her) oral-poetic mentality. Who could resist singing and reciting within the ordered and monumental space of an elegant portico? These are, of course, the kinds of events that generated and sustained human communities.

We should also expect that the portico was an arena for transactions by day, and that its character might have changed completely by night when villagers coming in from the countryside to sell their produce sought out a place to sleep before the next day's market. We might imagine this space, at night, to have been strewn with kilims and sleeping bodies, especially the poor, for whom the bishop was responsible in his role as *philoptochos*, or "lover of the poor."[53] Incubation was likely practised here. The portico was a collective place, a gathering, sheltering space for all, but perhaps, especially for those belonging to the outermost margins of society.[54] Because of its proximity to the basilica, it was a space where the divine was no longer remote but inherently tangible, and where protection was given by God and the saints to a community of souls who believed in their divine powers.

In Cyprus (and the Mediterranean in general) the existence of the portico is commonplace, even in modern times and modern buildings.[55] Medieval porticoes survive throughout the island, typically appended to the south side of a church, as at the South Basilica at Arsinoë. The handsome porticoes of the church of St. Lazarus, in Larnaca, are perhaps most akin to what our south portico may have looked like. We should perhaps imagine the Arsinoë portico with a wooden roof overhead, though at a much smaller scale. The Larnaca portico is a superb example of this type of outside-yet-protected space that, in earlier centuries, would have been bustling with people and activity. Members of the church were surely invested in its upkeep, and parishioners will have availed themselves of its outdoor benefits when the crowded interior of the church was teeming with the faithful, especially on feast days. The portico was the place everyone wanted to be – jostled and packed in tight, with glowing candles held in procession. This intimate yet energetic movement through the covered portico, followed by a sudden emergence into the open spaces of the city, was what generated excitement and etched experience into memory.

The surrounding district

The area surrounding the South Basilica represents the adaptability of the local community over time. During the Late Roman period the district featured a paved east-west road to the south of the church as well as two north-south roads to the east and west. The western road crossed the south road at a modest quadrifrons arch, or tetrapylon.[56] This was a significant monument and its presence suggests that it marked a busy intersection that joined Arsinoë to the road leading to its ancient port.[57] The South Basilica stood near this intersection, and its western entrance opened onto the north-south road. The east-west street at the south edge of the site is situated higher than the church and demonstrates the sloping nature of the area.

The east-west street was exceptionally well preserved when it was excavated in the late 1980s. It contains an impressive, covered storm drain together with a line of terracotta water pipes running just to the north of it, occasionally in double rows. The north-south street to the west of the church displays a dramatic curve and includes a drain that follows this same curvature and incorporates a series of settling basins. Drains and very deep wells permeate the entire area. One of the deepest wells is located directly across the street from the annexe of the basilica (Figure 4.5). It is covered by a small, apsidal well house that likely featured a conch overhead which sheltered a mosaic within its curvature (hundreds of tesserae were discovered during excavations within the deep well). The proximity of the well to the narthex is certainly no accident, as water would have been a necessary component for the rituals enacted within the church. We should imagine here a busy and important corner of the town, with traffic from the confluence of streets merging with activity in and around the well house and perhaps continuing down the passageways of the narthex and adjacent south portico. This must have been a lively and important section of the town, a gathering place for rest and refreshment. The street was nicely paved here, and water flowed along the gutters in the street. We should understand here a neighbourhood with special features and amenities. The well would have been especially important as a social space where travellers arriving from the coast would meet local residents.

Figure 4.5 Well house and street by the South Basilica. Image courtesy: the Princeton-Cyprus Expedition.

The Christian identity of the community will have also greeted those entering the city from the coast and, while this might appear to be a given in the sixth-century Mediterranean, for a new visitor to the island, the pair of monumental basilicas visible from the coastal plain would have also announced the prominence of the bishop in the city and the role of the church in both urban and island-wide identity. The modest quadrifrons arch, most likely earlier than the church, that covered the intersection of the two streets at the southwest corner of the site has left scant remains. It shares some affinities with another, equally humble arch discovered during excavations at the great church of Campanopetra at Salamis, in the easternmost part of the island.[58] This basilica was one of the most renowned monuments in Cyprus, a goal for many pilgrims travelling to Jerusalem to visit the holy sites of the East.[59] The tetrapylon at Arsinoë may have been intended to emphasize this intersection and to offer a sense of passage through the crossroads along the northern edge of the city while also providing some shelter. While the chronological relationship with the church remains unclear, it is appealing to imagine that the arch formed an important visual parallel with the arched opening to the church's southwest annexe room together with the arches of the narthex. This would have embedded the church in the visual vocabulary of the earlier urban area. The earlier coincidence of hydraulic, industrial, and transportation infrastructure (roads, workshops, and an arch) may well reflect the daily movement of people from the coastal zone and countryside into the town of Arsinoë. A flow of people, water, clay, and ore – all would have benefited the populace here. And all may have been funnelled through this same channel. Such a scenario may go some way towards explaining the reuse of this particular space over centuries, not to mention the continuous attention paid to the South Basilica at least into the twelfth century.

The architecture of the South Basilica at Arsinoë demonstrates parallels with another church in Cyprus, the so-called Acropolis Basilica at Amathus.[60] Similar dimensions and proportions, as well as a similar southern porch and courtyard hint that this church may have also stood as a stop on the westward route of pilgrims across the island. Perhaps the South Basilica represented the intersection between the larger Christian community in the Mediterranean and the more famous churches in the eastern part of the island.

The anthropologist Victor Turner famously argued that pilgrimage was a liminal phenomenon for participants en route to holy sites.[61] The liminality of the pilgrimage experience produced the temporary suspension of social differences and created a space of *communitas* where new and more egalitarian social relationships emerged. The liminal location of the South Basilica at the north side of the city, its possible association with pilgrimage, and its offer of shade and water allowed the architectural, ritual, and social space of the church to merge. The result is a shared space between the community of Arsinoë and the weary Christian pilgrim.

The modifications to the church also included the transformation from a wood roof to a barrel vault. The techniques needed to install buttresses to help the thin basilica walls support barrel vaulting, for example, likely required specialized knowledge. On the island, this practice was most common among churches on the Karpas Peninsula and was relatively rare in the western part of the island.[62] If we hypothesize that the South Basilica contributed to pilgrims' routes across the island that culminated at the eastern port of Salamis-Constantia, then the connection between builders in the neighbourhood of Salamis and the church at Polis hints at a relationship between the two communities beyond just the pilgrims' travels. As we noted for the North Basilica, the built environment around the South Basilica and the experiences associated with the building integrate island-wide communities, communities of faith, communities of work and practice, and the temporary experience of *communitas* inherent to pilgrimage with the local experience of the neighbourhood and the familiar sights and sounds of the church.

Inscribed bishops

The church building with its portico supported and protected all kinds of human action and created an architectural manifestation of the link between the community and the bishops who shaped Christian and secular affairs within the city. We find them in every corner of Cyprus, which was in the auspicious position of having as many as 14 bishops who were tied to the original city-kingdoms of the island.[63] It is worth mentioning again that Cyprus was autocephalous from 431 onwards, this due to the discovery of the tomb and relics of Barnabas together with a well-timed vision, conveniently witnessed by the Bishop of Constantia.[64] It is also the case that some local bishops on the island were (and are still) venerated as saints. Arsinoë itself had at least three such figures, Bishop Arkadios being the most well-known.[65] In general, however, most local bishops were ordinary men who presided over the day-to-day happenings within their parish. They preached and watched over local officials, oversaw festivals, supervised charities and monastic establishments. They served as arbiters and judges, assisted with marital problems and were charged with the care of the poor, to name just a few of their many duties.[66] By Late Antiquity these local bishops, though deprived of true political power, had become the main representatives of the people.

Of interest regarding bishops in Polis is a surviving stone inscription that mentions one Archbishop Sabinos, along with one Bishop Photinos, both of whom were active at the same time in Arsinoë during the mid-fifth century but are otherwise unattested (Figure 4.6).[67] The two names are recorded on a humble limestone block found at Polis/Arsinoë in 1960. It records the presence of two high clerics who co-sponsored the construction of a building somewhere in the town. The text does not tell us what type of building

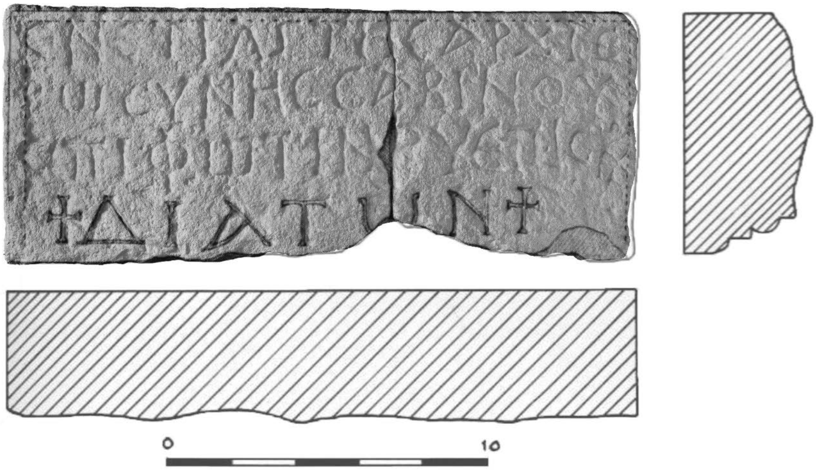

Figure 4.6 Fifth-century inscription of Archbishop Sabinos and Bishop Photinos found at Polis/Arsinoë in 1960. Initial Drawing by Ino Nicolaou with subsequent additions by the authors.

it was, or anything else about it except that the two clerics underwrote its construction. The brief inscription states the following: "In the 36th year when Sabinos was Archbishop, when Photinos was Bishop (this was erected) at their own expense."[68]

Of some interest is the block itself that was used to convey the message: One can see from the profile that it is a reused moulding – mere *spolia* – slightly elegant but certainly in secondary (or perhaps tertiary?) use. It is important, however, because it is one of the only inscriptions that survived from the ancient site of Marion/Arsinoë. Its simple message is not resplendent, but it demonstrates a substantial act of patronage on behalf of an important community project – presumably, a new building intended for the town's populace some 100 years before the large South Basilica was conceived. Despite the unpretentious appearance of the inscription, it will have created a common identity, wherever it was placed in the town. This imposing stone will have been ever-present, beckoning to the local citizens and broadcasting an historic and seminal moment within the long history of the community. And while we, as modern viewers, would consider the stone of interest purely as an historical artefact, those who read it or listened to its message being read aloud in Late Antiquity would likely have understood it rather differently, perhaps, as a way to keep the memory of these benefactors firmly intact by offering a prayer, or making the sign of the cross on their behalf, thereby honouring their past contribution to the city that continued to survive, despite all odds. The building may also have become an anchoring point for the specific neighbourhood in which it was located. Such strategies were of the utmost importance in the lives of the individuals, not to mention the larger circle of the community; commemoration was a key component of life that bound the city together.

It should also be remembered that bishops were exceptionally good at promoting neighbourhood collectivity through processions. The order of names on the inscription itself, with the archbishop first, followed by the bishop, evoked the hierarchical organization of the procession in the space of the local community. The monument and the text of the inscription connected the local bishop to the archbishop, who most probably resided either at Paphos or Salamis-Constantia. In these districts, monuments such as that commemorated by the inscription defined neighbourhoods and streetscapes which were entirely complicit in providing the necessary backdrop for expressions of expansive solidarity. We, of course, do not know what this would have looked like in Arsinoë, but we can certainly glean information from some of the contemporary, seventh-century sources, wherein bishops were able to collect parishioners to process through the streets of the towns and villages in collective togetherness. One of the most capable was Theodore of Sykeon, who seems never to have missed a chance at a good procession, or litany.[69] He was, of course, exceptional, in that his saintly status imbued him with special powers. A citizen of Sandos, for example, in Asia Minor (west of Ancyra), made the mistake of digging out part of a hillside, inadvertently releasing a bevy of demons into his town.[70] The townsfolk convinced the saint to come to their rescue, and St. Theodore quickly ordered a procession of supplication to be formed, "which went right round the village and came to the hill from which they said the demons had come out."[71] (The saint immediately dispatched them.) There followed yet another procession the next day during which he "drove together all the spirits still remaining in the neighbourhood, and in the roads, to the injury of travelers. He then led the procession back to the village and all the neighbourhood remained safe…" There was no better way to create a spirit of community than this. We should envision such processions also taking place at Arsinoë, perhaps on the primary road leading from the tetrapylon to the South Basilica. A procession brought people together in a bodily manifestation of goodwill, prayer, and thanksgiving that raised everyone's spirits and encouraged a feeling of togetherness and communal action.

Cemetery as communal space

The intersection of various communities at the South Basilica also extended from the living to the dead. At some point after the additions to the church, these same spaces together with the aisles and external regions around the building came to be used as a cemetery for the Christian community of the South Basilica. A series of three well-appointed tombs on the floor of the south aisle may have served as an initial impetus for the later graves (more than 200) surrounding the church.[72] Interestingly, the burial in the south aisle of a 17- to 25-year-old male included a large bronze cross that may have been reused from an earlier context – most likely the hardware of one of the doors to the church (Figure 4.7). The large cross may have anticipated the appearance of a number of much smaller pectoral crosses, made of a humbler material – the local picrolite, a kind of soapstone native to the island. These were found in 16 burials throughout the cemetery (Figure 4.8). The growth of this cemetery and the use of pectoral crosses by individuals buried around the church point to the reciprocal practices that defined the relationship between the church and the community. The formal burials in the south aisle appear to have stimulated a wave of Christian burials and expanded its function to accommodate the dead. Funerary liturgies, burials at the church, and simpler, more personal, rites associated with visiting the dead and tending to the graves further connected the church and its cemetery to a neighbourhood. The regular and ritual paths between the cemetery, the home, and the cluster of graves of the deceased and residences of the living connected the neighbourhood both physically and symbolically to the church. Changes in burial practices over time suggest a persistent

Figure 4.7 Burial of a young male wearing a large bronze cross with a chain in the south aisle. Image courtesy of the Princeton-Cyprus Expedition.

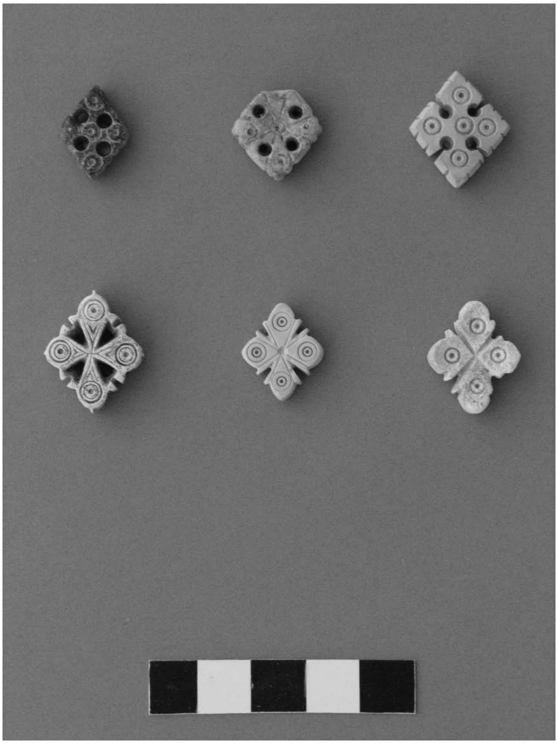

Figure 4.8 Selection of small pectoral crosses from burials in the South Basilica. Image courtesy: the Princeton-Cyprus Expedition.

adaptability within this corner of Arsinoë. It also reminds us that the local community valued its traditional ways, and that the sanctity of the site was never extirpated from the collective memory of Arsinoë.

While the urban core of the ancient city lies buried beneath the modern village, the district surrounding the South Basilica at Arsinoë and its neighbouring North Basilica nevertheless offer important insights into the Christian community in the city. Visible and prominent on the north side of the city, the churches were among the first monumental structures a traveller encountered upon entering the island from the coast. The South Basilica represented both local and regional community actions through the human investment in its construction, its changing architecture and design, and its relationship to surrounding features. Theoretical concepts ranging from Victor Turner's notion of *communitas* to the more recent concepts of communities of practice and conviviality articulate how pilgrimage and liminal districts at the edge of the town and the informal, shared knowledge of the local community intersected to connect the residents of Arsinoë to the larger Christian world.

Conclusion

It might seem obvious that the study of Byzantine neighbourhoods requires detailed evidence for residential architecture. In fact, this is not always the case. Monuments, especially complex, multi-period structures such as the two basilicas in Arsinoë, demonstrate their continued expansion over a long time period. Intermediate zones between monuments and the city (such as the portico, the covered well, and the tetrapylon) also allow us to think our way into past neighbourhoods, especially when we consider the cooperative effort routinely poured into the experience of monument-making and human interaction. The remains of these zones now lie in ruins, but they still resonate with the buzz of past human lives that are not so different from our own.

Notes

1 We wish to thank Fotini Kondyli and Benjamin Anderson for inviting us to participate in the colloquium held at Dumbarton Oaks in November 2017. We also thank William A. P. Childs, Joanna Smith, and the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus for permission to study and publish materials from the South and North Basilicas at Polis Chrysochous (Marion-Arsinoë).

2 The exterior walls of the South Basilica measure 12.80 × 18.10 m without the narthex and the south portico. With the additional spaces it measures roughly 16.55 × 22.90 m.

3 Cyprus was famously autocephalous; for its size, there were many (typically 14) bishops on the island, Arsinoë among them. On bishops in general, see Peter Brown, *Poverty and Leadership in the Later Roman Empire* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 2002); Claudia Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity: The Nature of Christian Leadership in an Age of Transition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), especially Chapter 5, “Bishops in Action”; Demetrios Constantelos, *Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1968).

4 Three streets are preserved around the main block within which the South Basilica is situated: The north-south street to the west measured 4.25 m in width; the east-west street south of the basilica measured 3.25 m; the north-south street to the east measured 3 m. Streets for wheeled traffic required a width of at least 2.40 m in width, this was according to Ine Jacobs, *Aesthetic Maintenance of Civic Space*: *The Classical City from the 4th to the 7th c. AD* (Leuven: Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 2013), 126–130. We may, therefore, assume that this district received heavy traffic in the sixth and seventh centuries.

5 Michael Smith, “The Archaeological Study of Neighborhoods and Districts in Ancient Cities,” *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 29 (2010): 137–154, here at 138. This type of zone is typically defined as ‘a seat of administration, ritual, display… a central, elite district.’

6 For example, Vassos Karageorghis. *The Cyprus Collections in the Medelhavsmuseet* (Nicosia: A. G. Leventis Foundation and the Medelhavsmuseet, 2003).

7 William Childs, Joanna Smith, and Michael Padgett, eds., *City of Gold: The Archaeology of Polis Chrysochous, Cyprus* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012), 34–35. Gunnis’ work at Polis was never published.

8 Tina Najbjerg, “The City of Arsinoë in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods,” in *City of Gold: The Archaeology of Polis Chrysochous, Cyprus*, ed. William Childs,

Joanna Smith, and Michael Padgett (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012), 236–245. This part of the city appears to have been devoted to manufacturing during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Clay-lined pits filled with slag, glass manufacture, coroplast production, and a Roman-period kiln were discovered in and around the south neighbourhood. Eustathios Raptou, of the Cyprus Department of Antiquities, excavated a series of workshops 100 m. southeast of the south neighbourhood of Arsinoë in 2008.

9 William Caraher, R. Scott Moore, and Amy Papalexandrou, "The South Basilica at Polis on Cyprus," *Hesperia* 88 (2019): 319–364, especially at 336–338 for water management.

10 For the North Basilica, see Childs, Smith, and Padgett, *City of Gold*, 274–280.

11 Vera von Falkenhausen. "Bishops and Monks in the Hagiography of Byzantine Cyprus," in *Medieval Cyprus: Studies in Art, Architecture, and History in Memory of Doula Mouriki*, ed. Nancy Patterson-Ševčenko and Christopher Moss (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999), 21–33.

12 Sozomenos, *Kirchengeschichte*, ed. Joseph Bidez and Günther Christian Hansen, Griechischen christlichen Schrifsteller der ersten drei Jahuhunderte 50 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1960), VII, 19, 2, 330: "ἀμέλει Σκύθαι πολλαὶ πόλεις ὄντες ἕνα πάντες ἐπίσκοπον ἔχουσιν. ἐν ἄλλοις δὲ ἔθνεσιν ἔστιν ὅπῃ καὶ ἐν κώμαις ἐπίσκοποι ἱερῶνται, ὡς παρὰ Ἀραβίοις καὶ Κυπρίοις ἔγνων…" ("Among the Scythians there are many cities, all of which have one bishop. Among other nations, there are cases where bishops are the priests of small villages, as for example I know is the case among the Arabs and the Cypriots…").

13 Kyriakos Nicolaou, "Αρχαίοι λιμένες εν Κύπρω," *Δελτίον Τμήματος Πολιτιστικής Αναπτύξεως του Υπουργείου Παιδεί–7* (1966): 95–99; John Leonard, "Roman Cyprus: Harbors, Hinterlands and 'Hidden Powers'" (PhD diss., The State University of New York at Buffalo, 2005).

14 Paul Raber, "Early Copper Production in the Polis Region, Western Cyprus," *Journal of Field Archaeology* 14 (1987): 297–312.

15 Michael Given, "The Materiality, Monumentality, and Biography of Slag on Cyprus," in *An Age of Experiment: Classical Archaeology Transformed (1976–2018)*, ed. Lisa Nevett and James Whitley (Cambridge, MA: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, 2018), 161–176.

16 George Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), I.231.

17 Childs, Smith, and Padgett, *City of Gold*, 41–42.

18 The city of Limassol affords a vibrant example of seventh-century prosperity. See Derek Krueger, *Symeon the Holy Fool: Leontius's Life and the Late Antique City* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), especially at 8–12, on the attributes of the city. Signs of prosperity are evident in the agora with food stalls, bath complex, hospital, glass workshop, tavern, merchants, artisans, sorceress, etc. The *Life* is set in a city called "Emesa," but it almost certainly reflects the seventh-century port city of Limassol, on the south coast.

19 See Tassos Papacostas, "The Economy of Late Roman Cyprus," in *Economy and Exchange in the Eastern Mediterranean during Late Antiquity*, ed. Sean Kingsley and Michael Decker (Oxford: Oxbow Books 2001), 108–109; Luca Zavagno, *Cyprus Between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages (ca. 600–800): An Island in Transition* (London: Routledge, 2017), 155–180.

20 Tina Najbjerg, Charles Nicklies, and Amy Papalexandrou, "Princeton University Excavations at Polis/Arsinoë: Preliminary Report on the Roman and Medieval Remains," *Report of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus* 2002: 139–154; Amy Papalexandrou and William Caraher, "Arsinoe in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages," in *City of Gold: The Archaeology of Polis Chrysochous, Cyprus*,

ed. William Childs, Joanna Smith, and Michael Padgett (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012), 267–284. We do not know whether the aisles were separated by columns or piers—such was the condition of this building upon excavation.

21 The church of Hagios Tychon has been excavated and studied by Eleni Procopiou, “Église d’Ayios Tykhonas (Saint-Tykhon),” in *Guide d’Amathonte*, Sites et Monuments 15, ed. Pierre Aupert (Paris: École Française d’Athènes, 1996), 153–161.

22 St. John the Almoner’s body was exuding a very pleasant odour in the church of St. Tychon at Amathus, an event that drew large numbers of pilgrims during the seventh century. See Elizabeth Dawes and Norman Baynes, *Three Byzantine Saints* (Crestwood; New York: St. Vladimir’s Press, 1977), 261–262.

23 Arsinoë had its own history of saintly bishops (perhaps as many as three), most notably St. Arkadios, a shadowy figure known only from a panegyric of St. Neophytos. See von Falkenhausen, “Bishops and Monks,” 29.

24 On which see Robert Ousterhout, *Master Builders of Byzantium* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 49–57.

25 Julian Orr, *Talking About Machines: An Ethnography of a Modern Job* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), 1–6.

26 Etienne Wenger, Richard McDermott, and William Snyder, *Cultivating Communities of Practice* (Brighton, MA: Harvard Business School Press, 1998).

27 Orr, *Talking About Machines*.

28 Caraher, Moore, and Papalexandrou, “South Basilica,” 339–343.

29 Ousterhout, *Master Builders*, 50.

30 Dawes and Baynes, *Three Byzantine Saints*, 128. The locals had burnt unslaked lime and loaded it on wagons when a rainstorm developed, creating the dangerous possibility of losing both carts and oxen.

31 Prokopiou, “Église d’Ayios Tykhonas,” 154–156.

32 Brenda Baker and Amy Papalexandrou, “A Bioarchaeological Perspective on the Burials and Basilicas of Medieval Polis, Cyprus,” in *Bioarchaeology and Behavior: The People of the Ancient Near East*, ed. Megan Perry (Gainsville: University Press of Florida, 2012), 81–109.

33 Excavations in Kato Paphos in 1978 revealed a large, seventh-century olive press in the church of the Chrysopolitissa that occupied the entire length of the south portico in three rooms, on which see Sophocles Hadjisavvas, *Olive Oil Processing in Cyprus from the Bronze Age to the Byzantine Period* (Nicosia: Paul Åströms Förlag, 1992), 45–46.

34 Michael Given, “The Precarious Conviviality of Watermills,” *Archaeological Dialogues* 25 (2018): 71–94.

35 Caraher, Moore, and Papalexandrou, “South Basilica,” 319–364.

36 Athanasios Papageorgiou, “The Narthex of the Churches of the Middle Byzantine Period in Cyprus,” in *Rayonnement Grec: Homages à Charles Delvoye*, ed. Lydie Hadermann-Misguich and Georges Raepsaet (Brussels: Editions de l’Université de Bruxelles, 1982), 436–438. Papageorgiou noted that nearly all the Early Christian basilicas (fourth to seventh century) had a narthex, but basilicas built or rebuilt during the time of the so-called Condominium (the period of the Arab raids until the tenth century) lacked a narthex.

37 Caraher, Moore, and Papalexandrou, “South Basilica,” 329–332.

38 Ibid., 329–332.

39 Ibid., 333–334.

40 Slobodan Ćurčić, *Middle Byzantine Architecture on Cyprus: Provincial or Regional?* (Nicosia: The Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation, 2000), 10–13.

41 Caraher, Moore, and Papalexandrou, “South Basilica,” 336–338.

42 The archaeologists who worked in this area in 1985 testify to the extreme difficulty of removing the large stone and rubble fill.
43 Tina Najbjerg, “The City of Arsinoë,” in *City of Gold: The Archaeology of Polis Chrysochous, Cyprus*, ed. William Childs, Joanna Smith, and Michael Padgett (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012), 233–248.
44 Helen Saradi, *The Byzantine City in the Sixth Century: Literary Images and Historical Reality* (Athens: Society of Messenian Archaeological Studies, 2006), 155.
45 Claudia Rapp, “City and Citizenship as Christian Concepts of Community in Late Antiquity,” in *The City in the Classical and Post-Classical World: Changing Contexts of Power and Identity*, ed. Claudia Rapp and H. A. Drake, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 153–166.
46 Polis notebook, Trench r09.s10 (1985), Level 13, notebook 3, 57.
47 Hendrik Dey, *The Afterlife of the Roman City. Architecture and Ceremony in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 65–126.
48 Rory O’Neill, “Gothic on the Edge: Light, Levitation, and Seismic Culture in the Evolution of Medieval Religious Architecture of the Eastern Mediterranean” (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2015), 316.
49 John Onians, *Bearers of Meaning: Classical Orders in Antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992).
50 Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 261 ff.
51 Ino Nicolaou, “Inscriptiones Cypriae Alphabeticae, 1960–61,” *Berytus* 14 (1961–63): 129–141, here at 138.
52 Mary Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, 261.
53 Brown, *Poverty and Leadership*, 6.
54 Ibid., especially at 12 for several examples (in Ancyra, Scythopolis, Amiens and Oxyrhynchus) of overcrowded city porticoes filled with the poor and indigent. Presumably, the situation at Arsinoë would not have been as extreme due to the small size of both the city and the portico.
55 For the afterlife of the portico, see Bernard Rudofsky, *Streets for People: A Primer for Americans* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1969), 69–104, 201–222.
56 Caraher, Moore, and Papalexandrou, “South Basilica,” 338.
57 The port of Arsinoë was either along the coast immediately north of the city or at the site of the modern village of Latsi, to the west. Nicolaou, “Αρχαίοι λιμένες,” 95–99.
58 Georges Roux, *La Basilique de la Campanopétra*, Salamine de Chypre 15 (Paris: Diffusion de Boccard, 1998), 134, Fig. 16. The “tetrapylon” is located on the southwest side of the great portico of the church.
59 Salamis (Constantia) is considered one of the most important Early Christian settlements, close to the place of martyrdom of Barnabas, considered the founder of the Church of Cyprus. Nearby, the Campanopetra church was the largest on the island, boasting seven aisles and the tomb of St. Epiphanius. See Rupert Gunnis, *Historic Cyprus: A Guide to its Towns and Villages, Monasteries and Castles* (Nicosia: K. Rustem & Bro., 1973), 419–423.
60 Annie Pralong, “La basilique de l’acropole d’Amathonte (Chypre),” *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana* 70 (1994): 413–435.
61 Victor Turner and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978).
62 Charles Stewart, “The First Vaulted Churches in Cyprus,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 69 (2010): 162–189; A. H. S. Megaw, “Three Vaulted Basilicas in Cyprus,” *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 66 (1946): 48–56.

63 von Falkenhausen, "Bishops and Monks," 29: J. I. Smirnov, "Christianskiia Mozaiki Kipra," *Vizantiiskii Vremmennik* 4 (1897): 1–93, here at 6. "Νῆσός ἐστι μεγίστη εἰς ὑπερβολὴν, πλουσία σφόδρα, δεκατέσσαρας ἐπισκόπους ἔχουσα… ὄνομα δέ αὐτῇ Κύπρος…". (There is an island which is excessively large, very rich, with fourteen bishops… and its name is Cyprus.)

64 Ibid. Barnabas revealed to the Archbishop the location of the relics of St. Barnabas in 488, impressing the emperor Zeno such that he granted autocephaly to the island.

65 Arkadios is mentioned in a panegyric of St. Neophytos the Recluse, whose famous cave church is located just 15 km south of Arsinoë.

66 Joan M. Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 325–326. More recently, Rapp, *Holy Bishops*, especially at 155–156.

67 The inscription is located in the Cyprus Museum in Nicosia. See Nicolaou, "Inscriptiones," 136–138. Nicolaou argues that the bishop is most likely Sabinus II, who succeeded to the office of Archbishop of Arsinoë sometime after 451. Nicolaou bases this on the letterforms of the inscription.

68 The Greek text of the inscription reads as follows: Ἐν ἔτι (sic) Λς τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης Σαβίνου / ἐπί Φωτηνοῦ ἐπισκό(που) / † διά τῶν †. (The διά τῶν implies that the bishop and archbishop funded the project.)

69 Dawes and Baynes, *Three Byzantine Saints*, 162.

70 Ibid., 162.

71 Ibid., 163.

72 The individuals buried in and around the South Basilica are under study by Brenda Baker of Arizona State University. See Baker and Papalexandrou, "Bioarchaeological Perspective," 81–87.

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5 Water and social relationships in early Byzantine neighbourhoods

Jordan Pickett

Neighbourhoods are networks of people and resources moving through the spaces of daily life.[1] Because the changing boundaries and configurations of neighbourhoods – and the people with them – can be difficult to track in provincial Byzantine communities, where so often textual sources for daily life are sparse, the infrastructure of resources such as water can help define patterns of movement and behaviour in historical urban environments.[2] This chapter considers the extent to which water distribution and its movement – constrained by environmental availability, inherited technologies of Roman infrastructure, and an evolving array of social and legal customs – had consequences for the formation and functionality of neighbourhoods in Early Byzantine cities of the Eastern Mediterranean. Specifically, an examination of water for neighbourhoods in Byzantine legal sources is followed by three archaeological case studies of local variations from Caesarea Maritima, Thessaloniki, and Ephesos.

Archaeology uncovers infrastructure that lacks specific social contexts, but textual and especially legal evidence has the advantage of generalizing to communicate social situations that are difficult to identify from archaeology alone. At the same time, historical urban water systems are rarely known in their entirety but instead must be approached as fragments or individual elements: a bath here, a street and fountain system or housing block with cisterns there, all of which can differ significantly from neighbourhood to neighbourhood and city to city, and which thus demand comparative analysis. These evidentiary limits – in addition to secondary indicators drawn from modern and non-Byzantine comparanda – offer future directions of research.

Any inquiry into water's role in Eastern Mediterranean cities and neighbourhoods might begin with a comparison to modern urban water histories.[3] In the United States, for instance, urban water histories are overwhelmingly focused on the construction and consequences of long-distance aqueducts during the mid-nineteenth to mid-twentieth centuries, which gradually obviated the need for the public or private wells and cisterns, and which were replaced with piped-in aqueduct supplies carried to individual houses. Civic investment in water technology, and

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the social contexts for its applications, had far-reaching cultural consequences for American neighbourhoods for the public spaces within them, the architecture of houses, the municipal government and public perceptions of its responsibilities, public health and sanitation, cuisine and foodways, as well as for families, labour, and gender roles.

An urban water history of the Roman and Byzantine world follows a roughly approximated inversion of this trajectory.[4] Public fountains and spring houses[5] tapping karstic supplies of groundwater[6] first evolved in Mediterranean cities after ca. 600 BCE: these were supplied at the springs themselves or the end of a very short pipeline, cut-and-cover, or tunnelled aqueducts, often just a few kilometres long. Early fountains and spring houses provided supplies primarily for palaces and public areas such as *agorai* or temple sanctuaries, with only indirect benefits for residences whose inhabitants (customarily women) made trips to the nearest fountains, springs, or rivers to carry back water, if they lacked wells at home.[7] That is, pre-Roman fountains and spring-houses were only modest supplements for households that still overwhelmingly relied on private wells and cisterns for the provision of their domestic water needs.

Romans upscaled and proliferated older aqueduct technologies to create burgeoning supplies of public water, capable of supplanting private wells and cisterns, with the construction of approximately 2,000 urban aqueducts across the Mediterranean between the first and third centuries. Roman aqueduct systems were typically between 20 and 30 kilometres in length, and required the labour of hundreds of workers engaged full time for several years for their construction.[8] The longest or most complex aqueduct systems – as at Constantinople[9] or Aspendos[10] – were the most expensive construction projects ever undertaken by the Roman state, ranging to hundreds of kilometres in length, and relying on highly complex combinations of underground channels and pipes, with bridges to cross valleys, or inverted siphons that could carry pressurized water down a hill and back up again. Altogether, Roman efforts made aqueduct-carried water available both to more cities and to more areas within cities, with significant consequences for neighbourhood formation and definition.

No Eastern Mediterranean city can provide so comprehensive a view of changing domestic- or neighbourhood-scale provisions of Roman water as Pompeii, in particular for the transitional period from well-water to aqueduct supplies for fountains – so typically obscured by generations of later building at other sites – after the introduction of the Aqua Augusta ca. 20 BCE.[11] At Pompeii, as at Ephesos and Caesarea Maritima (see below), archaeologists have observed how earlier wells and cisterns were widely decommissioned and infilled soon after imperial-era aqueduct construction, ultimately increasing reliance on all scales upon these new public provisions of water at street-side fountains and nymphaea.[12] These developments were reinforced by evolving cultural preferences for flowing spring water rather than standing water from wells or cisterns.[13]

Most Roman houses did not receive their own private supplies as a benefit of aqueduct construction.[14] At Pompeii for instance, just one-tenth of houses received private supplies of piped-in water.[15] Rather, fountains in street intersections were constructed within 100 m of most residences (Figure 5.1), and it was from these locations that most city-dwellers came together to take their daily water for household use. Fountains were, therefore, necessarily the setting for numerous day-to-day interactions between neighbours who relied upon shared, publicly provided water resources in close proximity to their homes. Ray Laurence has argued that Pompeian fountains constituted edges and nodes of neighbourhoods, while Alex Scobie has drawn attention to the potential consequences of Roman water supply, drainage, and human waste disposal for the transmission of water-borne cholera or parasites.[16] We might also observe that while several Pompeian fountains are known to have been built as replacements for older, in-filled wells in the same locations, others were newly constructed to fill out spatially regular distribution throughout the city. Practically speaking, new fountains allowed for an increase in urban population density, as well as a decrease in the urban area served by any individual fountain.[17] These patterns have wide application to cities across the Roman world, as demonstrated below, for instance, at Ephesos, and thus provide a useful background for Early Byzantine developments in the Eastern Mediterranean.

In the Eastern Mediterranean between the fifth and eighth centuries – gradually and with significant variation from city to city or region to region, depending on the bureaucratic, military, and religious significance of the settlement in question – the number of functional Roman aqueducts was

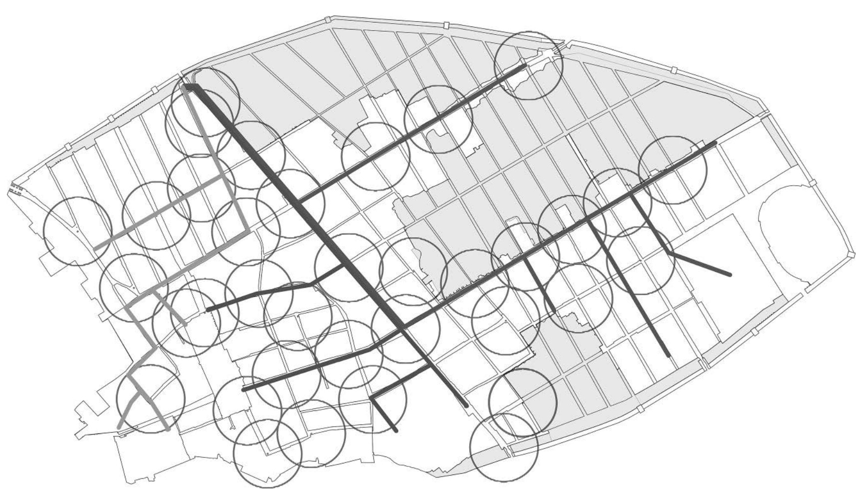

Figure 5.1 Plan of fountains and wells at Pompeii. Courtesy: Eric Poehler and the Pompeii Bibliography and Mapping Project at the University of Massachusetts.

sharply reduced, limiting this formerly near-universal good of Roman cities to a much smaller potential pool of Byzantine *poleis* and capitals (including Ephesos and Thessaloniki, see below). Even in locations with continuity of aqueducts, we can see supply and consumption behaviours changing, as wells and rainwater-capture cisterns reappear in close association with domestic and public areas, especially churches, replacing or supplementing older Roman aqueduct supplies directed towards baths. Selective maintenance of other inherited Roman water infrastructures (including drainage systems, roads, and bridges) could, on the other hand, also represent significant points of stability across centuries of deep urban and cultural change.

In the following sections, I examine water infrastructure in Byzantine neighbourhoods as the subject of legal disputation between residents and municipalities. I then survey water infrastructure histories from three important Byzantine cities, in order to highlight dramatic variations in Roman infrastructure survival and Byzantine adaptation, with consequences for neighbourhood functionality and definition.

Legal sources for water and social relationships in Byzantine neighbourhoods

Water flows are highly circumscribed by Roman and Byzantine law, which outlines both permissible and contested interactions between municipal authorities and residents, and between neighbours. A brief explanation of the sources is in order.[18] The sources are two for our purposes: Justinian's *Corpus Iuris Civilis* and the middle Byzantine *Basilika*. The *Corpus Iuris Civilis* comprises the *Digest*'s anthology of mostly third-century Roman juridical opinions,[19] the *Codex Iustiniani*'s anthology of imperial constitutions dating back so far as Hadrian's time (including an older compendium, the *Codex Theodosianus*, from 438), as well as the Justinianic *Novels* or amendments to these earlier codifications.[20] Justinian's work was later reorganized – with occasional omissions, whether intentional or otherwise[21] – and translated[22] into the Greek *Basilika* by the Macedonian emperors Basil I (867–886) and Leo VI (886–912).[23] While a comparison of water's appearances throughout these sources – with amendments added in one compilation, for instance, then omitted or revised by later sources – might indicate how administrative and legal priorities for urban water changed across time, the focus here is on those pronouncements related to urban neighbourhoods that appear consistently throughout the Late Antique and middle Byzantine sources.

The chief legal concern of imperial and municipal authorities for aqueducts was their upkeep and maintenance to guarantee continuous and unpolluted supplies, and consequently, also the protection and preservation of conduits and reservoirs from illicit diversions.[24] Concern for fraudulent diversion of water from aqueducts was targeted at a range of consumers: the owners of villas, estates, water mills, farms, gardens, and baths were subject to confiscation of property, and to fines ranging between one and ten pounds of gold.[25] The frequency and repetition of these pronouncements from the imperial period forwards to the *Basilika* are highly suggestive of the persistent trouble that diversion caused for managers of urban aqueducts, namely, the urban prefects in Constantinople and the bishops or governors in the provinces in Late Antiquity.

That said, the archaeological identification of illicit diversions is arguably impossible: the use of subsidiary branches inserted into main lines in apparent contravention of the capital's law was an entirely common practice in Early Byzantine cities like Ephesos (see below). Such emplacements can appear slapdash on the ground, but shoddy workmanship is no guarantee of illegality or the lack of proper arrangements with the relevant authorities. Practically seen, diversions also facilitated urban or suburban agriculture (see below for Krokodeilon at Caesarea Maritima), as well as the spread of those urban artisanal activities, including glass-making and textile dyeing, that required ready supplies of running water. Diversions thus contributed to functional changes within the Early Byzantine city, with or without the assent of municipal authorities.[26]

So far as neighbourly relations are concerned, three kinds of servitude (a form of legal obligation) are especially important. *Servitus aquae haustus* guaranteed the right to make arrangements for drawing water from a neighbour's well, and perforce included the right to *iter* or passage.[27] Roman and Byzantine legal opinions for *aquae haustus* never prescribed the exhaustion of alternatives or minimum distances to public water resources, in contrast to earlier Greek traditions reported by Roman authors.[28] Related juridical opinions specified that arrangements made between neighbours concerning wells were tied to land rather than to individuals (and thus were not heritable,[29] unless the lands in question were held in common[30]); they forbade violence against individuals who had by custom used well (or spring) water from a neighbour's property;[31] and they provided for the prosecution of individuals polluting a well intentionally.[32] Curiously, and despite the increasingly common provision of wells everywhere after the fifth or sixth centuries, there is little if any new legal literature that can be specifically related to them.

Servitus stilicidii provided for the right to drip water from the eaves of one house onto the roof of a neighbour, or conversely to prevent runoff (namely for conservation in cisterns, or any other use). This right – explicitly connected with urban properties – was rigorously distinguished from a considerable body of law related to rural rights for or against a neighbour's runoff rainwater, the *actio aquae pluviae arcendae.*[33] At the same time, residents had the right to retain or store rainwater on their own property or to collect overflow from their neighbours.[34] The evacuation of residential rooftop water is, by these measures, strongly associated with the nature of tiles and roof coverings that facilitated drainage by gutters and occasionally into cisterns, whether private or held in common, as well as by shared party walls that divided neighbouring residences.

Rights for remuneration of neighbourly damage are also thoroughly described in the legal literature, with water being a frequent culprit or cause for conflict. Situations described include damages claimed for *novum opus* or new constructions that disrupt water supplies to a residence;[35] for leaks of water from an upper into a lower apartment;[36] for pipes or baths along party walls that cause dampness for neighbours;[37] and for damages wrought by neglect or the (entirely permissible) construction or repair of a sewer line that runs through neighbouring domiciles.[38]

Neighbourly servitudes – especially for light and party walls – have clear archaeological comparanda (for example at Pompeii and Ostia),[39] while Catherine Saliou's study of late antique building manuals vis-à-vis the *Digest* is instructive in its identifications of supply and drainage lines from North African and Italian cities that crossed between neighbouring properties, though the Eastern and Byzantine Mediterranean remains underanalysed in this regard.[40]

Case studies for water in Byzantine neighbourhoods

The case studies from Caesarea Maritima, Thessaloniki, and Ephesos in the following section have been chosen to illustrate the range of evidence and trajectory apparent from a neighbourhood-scale perspective on water supply, consumption, and drainage across the Roman and Byzantine Eastern Mediterranean.[41]

Caesarea Maritima

Water for the capital of Palaestina Prima, Caesarea Maritima, travelled some eight kilometres along a multi-tiered system of aqueducts that combined a Herodian or early Roman Channel A and a Hadrianic Channel B, both supplied by springs to the north; in addition to a later Low-Level Channel, supplied by a nearby dam on the Zarqa River.[42] Hellenistic and Early Roman wells dug at Caesarea were gradually decommissioned just as the first aqueducts came into operation. They reappear later, during the fifth and sixth centuries, alongside combined archaeological and textual evidence for increased pressure on public fountains as the primary loci for water supply in the city, when climate may also have been a factor.[43] Altogether, this system of aqueducts and fountains was reconfigured at the end of the fourth century, and again in the middle of the sixth century, each time with important consequences for the spaces of daily life within the city.

The fourth-century reconfiguration presumably maintained an existing system of earlier Roman street-side fountains and ornamental pools which is – in contrast to Pompeii or Jerash, for instance – poorly known.[44] The skeleton of the older Roman system nevertheless provided demonstrably enough water, in the fourth century, to allow the introduction of a diversion line from Channel A to a new, suburban agro-industrial settlement at Krokodeilon, some 4 kilometres to the north. Here, water from the city's main line was critical to the neighbourhood's character and functionality: water provided for houses and a church centred on fishponds, a flour-grinding water mill, and a reservoir.[45]

Evidence for a sixth-century restructuring of Caesarea's water system is derived from both archaeology and an encomium for a local governor written by Choricius of Gaza, dated to 534/6. In the course of praise for the governor Stephanus' abilities as an administrator, Choricius describes systemic water shortages in the city caused by the neglect of the city's infrastructure, with violent social consequences at points of water withdrawal from aqueduct-supplied fountains:[46]

> An aqueduct has been constructed, conducting the gift of the springs to the city by means of public fountains that have been built to receive the water. Such things need to have very frequent care; consequently since there was neglect, there was no longer as unhindered a passage for the flowing water as before, but the movement of the water was checked in many places and the water flowed slower than usual.[47] As a result, it came about that it passed by some fountains made idle by the lack of water, and the drawing of water from others yielded less than was needed. And what is more, men in the prime of life were in fierce competition with those who were pushing one another in their wish to draw water. At any rate, women, old men, and children came back, some with empty vessels; for some a great struggle produced half-filled ones to carry away, while many children went off crying because their vessels had broken. As a consequence, with the lack of water increasing the desire for it, and with the desire making the scarcity of it even greater, and with both elements helping to increase each other, the evil was unbearable on all sides….[48]

While the network of urban fountains described so vividly by Choricius has left few material traces, archaeology for this period has revealed a plethora of new wells sunk around the city, reflective of the evolving need for a more diversified palette of water supplies: during the sixth century "almost every building complex … was furnished with a well."[49] Their contexts are revealing. In the southwest zone of the city, Byzantine wells were located at the end of short alleys that lack direct access to the buildings flanking them (Figure 5.2, Area KK below, off Decumanus S3 at left); in small structures set directly off the street (Area NN next to the "Western Stoa"); as replacements for older, now defunct street-side fountains (intersection of Decumanus S1 and Cardo W1, just off this plan). All are suggestive of ongoing applications of *servitus haustus*, or rights to neighbourly well-water withdrawal, as well as coordinated drips from nearby rooftops. Later Islamic wells – primarily Abbasid and Fatimid – were private by comparison, having retreated to the interior of house courtyards excepting near the market and mosque, thus reflecting an entirely different mode of neighbourhood organization.[50]

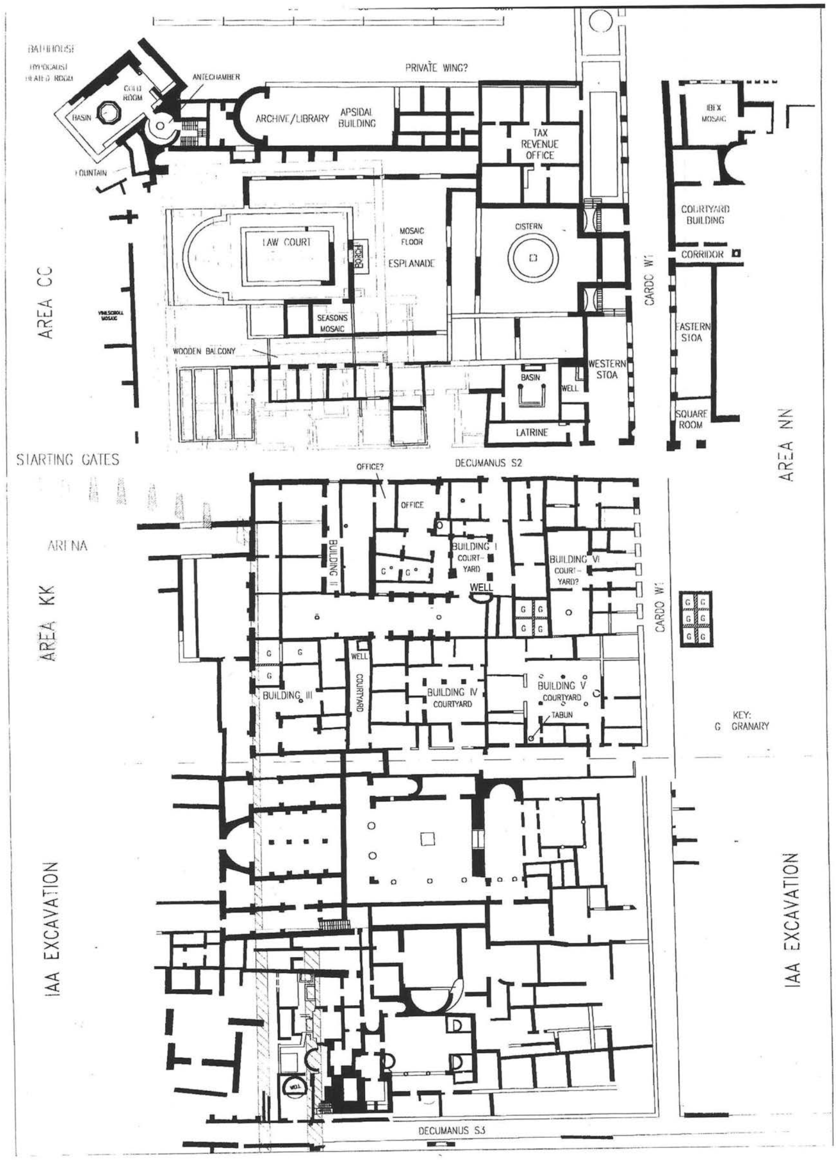

Figure 5.2 Areas KK, CC, and NN from the excavations at Caesarea Maritima. Courtesy: Joseph Patrich.

Thessaloniki

Thessaloniki was, after the fifth century, the capital of the Illyricum prefecture and later its thematic capital, one of the largest cities of the Roman and Byzantine world. Extensively studied for its ancient and medieval remains since the nineteenth century, the city's history has been significantly expanded by excavations undertaken as part of the planning and construction of the Thessaloniki Metro since 2006.[51]

Water was supplied to Roman and medieval Thessaloniki with groundwater, rainwater, and two external supplies: the first from an aqueduct sourced at Mount Chortiates for its eastern half (see below), and another rather poorly known aqueduct for the city's west, which may be related to cisterns visible along the fortifications near the Church of the Holy Apostles and at the Litea Gate.[52] Wells dotted the Roman and medieval city, as revealed by recent salvage excavations, though they have not yet been mapped or subjected to robust synthesis.[53] Large cisterns are visible throughout the city, fed by a combination of aqueduct and rain water, which began to be inserted into older publicly accessible areas and buildings after the fifth century, for instance, at the Agora (see below), and in the vestibule of the erstwhile Octagon at the Palace of Galerius (with 2 million litres capacity).[54]

The Chortiates aqueduct supplied the city's north and east sides. Its mountain spring source, at the site of the monastery of Agia Paraskevi, is still used today by Thessaloniki's modern water supply system.[55] Waters from this source were directed into a qanat or gallery collection system of channels,[56] before being carried over a massive, multi-phase aqueduct bridge just east of Thessaloniki, which has lately been studied and conserved, with phases running from Roman through Ottoman.[57]

The Chortiates aqueduct's line entered the city on high ground from the northeast at the acropolis,[58] with another branch approaching the eastern city a short way south near the Anna Palaiologina gate, from which water flowed south down the hill on or alongside the fortifications, with cisterns distributed along the branch's path.[59] In both cases, the terminations of Thessaloniki's Chortiates aqueduct branches were embedded within the city's defence,[60] and thus subject to firm state control from an early date. The Chortiates system seems to have functioned without interruption from Roman antiquity and into the Middle Ages, with an important role for churches as epicentres of distribution and consumption after the fifth century,[61] before the aqueduct was allegedly cut, temporarily, during the Ottoman conquest of the city in 1430.[62]

While our understanding of water's distribution from these aqueducts has room to grow – particularly as results from the Metro excavations come into publication[63] – the history of the Saint Demetrios complex and the

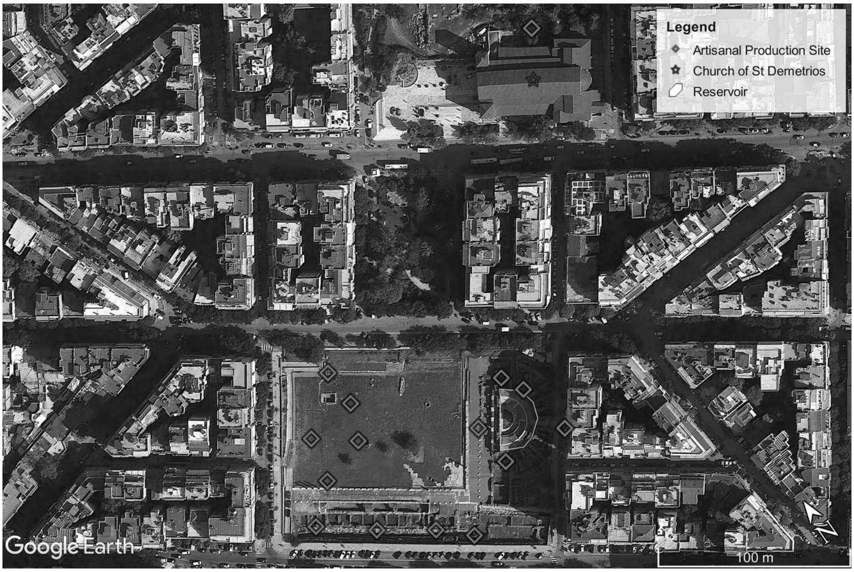

Figure 5.3 Plan of water supply and consumption features in Early Byzantine Thessaloniki, in the area of the Church of Saint Demetrios and the Roman Agora. Created by the author.

neighbouring Roman Agora provides a good case study for our understanding of churches' roles as anchors within neighbourhoods both ideologically and, more concretely, as nodes in water networks (Figure 5.3). That is to say, while churches could stand at the centre of administrative districts, they also accrued hydraulic resources that could facilitate more organic growth in their vicinities.

The church of Saint Demetrios was built in the fifth century on the site of a Roman bath – by definition, a major consumer of aqueduct water – and textual evidence shows that a bath continued in operation on the site after the establishment of the church.[64] As Lemerle noted, the baths on the site must have had two storeys; the crypt for Saint Demetrios is built directly onto the ruins of the lower storey. Preserved from this phase is the five-niched nymphaeum which, with new closure panels in relief and architectural sculpture, functioned as the font of the church's miraculous hagiasma that was at the centre of the saint's cult, and which was *not* sourced from a spring on site, but rather via piped-in supplies of water from the Chortiates aqueduct.[65]

Immediately south and west of the church of Saint Demetrios is the Roman Agora: here, sometime after the turn of the fifth century, a massive cistern was installed in the agora's double cryptoporticus and the south

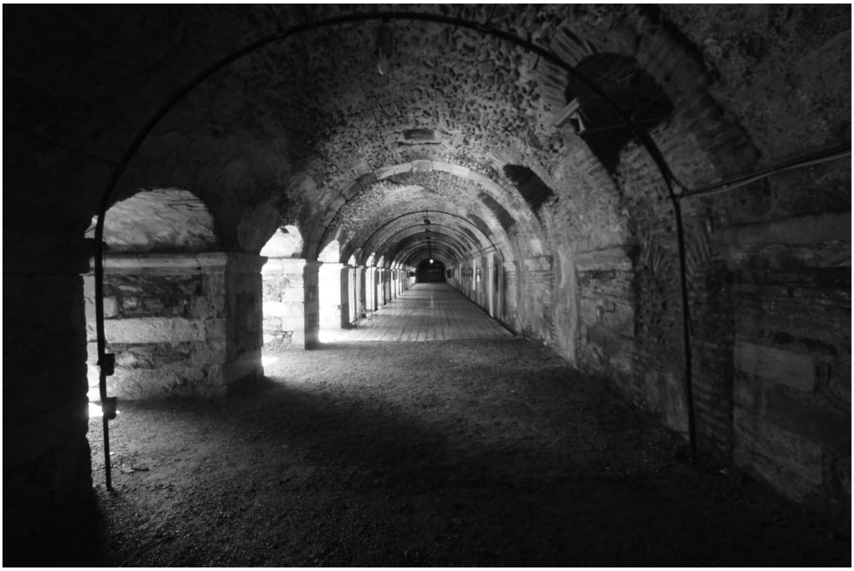

Figure 5.4 The Early Byzantine reservoir installed in the cryptoporticus of the Roman Agora at Thessaloniki. Author photo.

stoa (Figure 5.4).[66] This was not fed by rainwater, but rather by a pipeline introduced from the north: Bakirtzis explicitly identifies these pipes as issuing from the area of Saint Demetrios.[67] On the east edge of the quadrangle was a small room, equipped with a small nymphaeum decorated with a mural of the Anargyroi (healer-saints) Cosmas and Damian, which drew its waters from the agora cisterns via another pipe. Bakirtzis identifies this installation and explains its frescoes as components of an *hagiasma* with healing water.[68] Another interpretation might be that the saints were simply guarantors of the water's church-sanctioned safety and potability.

In the early Byzantine period, as the Roman Agora gradually industrialized, this quarter of the city was progressively occupied by a cluster of artisanal installations: ceramics workshops, metalworking, as well as the state coin mint, glass workshops, dyers, and a tannery. All depended upon the continued provision of water from the Chortiates aqueduct, now routed through the newly converted bath-church of Saint Demetrios, and stored in the reservoirs so creatively inserted into the cryptoporticus of the Roman Agora.[69] Altogether then, the character of transformations in this central neighbourhood of Thessaloniki is inseparable from changes in the disposition of its water resources, albeit on quite a different model than that encountered at Caesarea during the same period.

Ephesos

The block-by-block infrastructure of housing, commerce, and water at Ephesos on the western coast of Anatolia, one of the largest cities of the Mediterranean, is well studied after more than a century of Austrian excavation (Figure 5.5). It may be tempting to interpret the city's main streets as spatial limits or anchors for its neighbourhoods, especially because their pavements and storm drains were apparently kept clear well into the seventh century, even as the colonnades were subject to encroachment.[70] Spatially distinct neighbourhoods might thus be perceived in the environs of the State Agora at the east; the dual neighbourhoods with residences (such as the Hanghäuser and Insula M01) on either side of the Embolos, with the Marble Street and Celsus Library quarters on their west side; the Lower Agora and its environs, bounded by the Celsus Library at the south, the theatre at the east, and the Arkadiane at its north; the long thoroughfare of the Arkadiane itself, set between the harbour district at its west and the theatre opposite, with another district north of the Arkadiane between the Harbour Baths, Verulanus porticoes, and the Church of Mary.[71] On the other hand, the scale of Ephesos – encompassing all these areas – remains comparatively small vis-à-vis Constantinople or Alexandria, for instance. One needs approximately 15 minutes to walk from the Upper to the Lower Agora, with another 10 minutes to the Church of St Mary; the entire city, so far as it is

Figure 5.5 Labelled plan of structures in Ephesos, with Roman and Early Byzantine fountains indicated. Base map courtesy: OeAW-OeAI/Christian Kurtze.

known archaeologically, is well contained within any temporal definition of "the spaces of daily life."[72]

The infrastructural change appears consistently across Ephesos between the end of the fourth and middle of the fifth centuries, following a major earthquake.[73] Such changes included total maintenance of street surfaces alongside an expansion of aqueducts and fountains as well as industrial complexes within the city. Simultaneously, access to water *within* individual houses tapered off, which – if proximity to water resources is used as a measure, however qualitatively here – arguably lessened socio-spatial distinctions within the city. Nevertheless, state and church institutions still enjoyed closest proximity to and control over water infrastructure in the Early Byzantine Ephesos.[74]

Nearly coincident with the legal closure of temples under Theodosius before 395 came the introduction of church architecture and institutions throughout neighbourhoods in Ephesos, including the expropriation of older/creation of new water infrastructure.[75] The Church of Mary with its episcopal complex including bath, latrine, and fountains, was set into the despoiled porticoes of the obsolescent Temple of Hadrian at the city's northwest.[76] A church was built into the former Temple of Serapis, probably with reuse of the temple's considerable water supplies – formerly used to recreate the sacred flows of the Nile within the old precinct – now re-directed to new artisanal workspaces in the adjacent Lower Agora.[77] In the Upper Agora's northwest corner, a small basilican church was built beside the Prytaneion, two of whose rooms were converted into an aqueduct-fed reservoir before the sixth century.[78] A central-plan church was built into an imperial monopteros nymphaeum just outside the Upper Agora's southeast corner;[79] and somewhat further to its east, the imperial East Baths became defunct and partially converted into a chapel and burial grounds, their abundant waters now sent onwards for use elsewhere.[80]

Older housing blocks at Ephesos were subdivided and converted for industry, though these too maintained supplies of piped-in water. In the old Terrace Houses neighbourhood, south of the Embolos, water from the Değirmendere or Throessitica aqueducts powered a cascade of mills that ground grain into flour and cut stone columns into revetments, alongside an array of smaller workshops that replaced older inhabitations (Figure 5.6).[81] Immediately to the west of the Terrace Houses, water-powered industry invaded the city's old monumental core: the Celsus Library's façade gained a massive nymphaeum basin enclosed by two-metre-tall reliefs spoliated from an Antonine dynastic monument. A water-powered flour mill, six to eight metres in diameter, was set immediately to its south, adjacent to a new administrative complex.[82]

New and middling houses encroached along the porticoes of the Arkadiane and in the Upper Agora. The latter houses enjoyed the proximity to the Hydrekdocheion (a Domitianic nymphaeum still functional in Late Antiquity), to an older Roman nymphaeum that was creatively fitted with

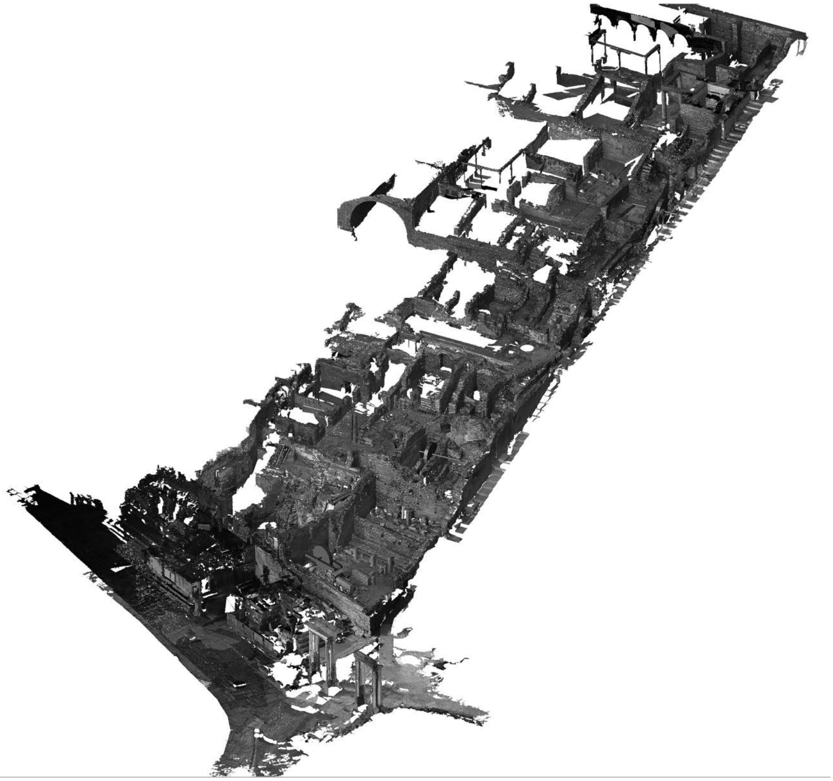

Figure 5.6 Reconstruction of the watermill cascade in Terrace House 2 at Ephesos. Courtesy: Stefanie Wefers and Anja Cramer.

a water-powered flour mill,[83] and to cisterns installed under the Temple of Domitian.[84] More upscale accommodations were built north of the Embolos in the vicinity of the Scholastikia baths, as well as in the giant porticoes of Verulanus at the Harbour Baths, immediately south of the Church of Mary.[85] Important for our purposes is to note that – in contrast to the Roman-period houses of the Hanghäuser – both the middling and upscale houses of Early Byzantine Ephesos lacked piped-in supplies of water but were still served by functioning storm drains in the streets.[86] Potable water for these residences was provided by wells or cisterns, or by proximity to the numerous still-functioning nymphaea.[87] Altogether then, Ephesos presents some of the same dynamics encountered at Thessaloniki for water infrastructure's continuity side-by-side with dramatic changes in character and functionality of neighbourhoods. Distinct here, in comparison with both Thessaloniki and Caesarea, are significantly improved visibility on watery changes in domestic architecture, and a multiplication of new Early

Byzantine nymphaea that contrasts sharply with the reduced numbers of public fountains at e.g. Caesarea during the same period.

Conclusion

This chapter has briefly sketched some of the social dimensions of water and its infrastructure within Early Byzantine neighbourhoods. Roman and Byzantine legal sources generalize in their definitions of neighbourly relations – whether cooperative or antagonistic – as they revolved around the movement of water supplied or drained in the passage between adjacent residences. While well studied in the Roman world, especially from houses at Pompeii and Ostia, archaeological comparanda for water servitudes from Byzantine neighbourhoods remains a topic deserving further research. Three case studies of water infrastructure were offered here, from Caesarea Maritima, Thessaloniki, and Ephesos.

Caesarea Maritima is special for the sixth-century panegyric of Choricius of Gaza, with its description of the impact of the negligence on the city's infrastructure of aqueduct-supplied fountains. The resulting artificial drought and violence at local points of water withdrawal were roughly contemporaneous with the reinstallation of wells throughout the city's houses, albeit in positions that guaranteed their accessibility to passers-by. This accessibility contrasted with the later Abbasid and Fatimid wells at Caesarea that were more private, to judge from their domestic morphology.

Thessaloniki, on the other hand, represents a case of long-term stability in a Byzantine city's aqueduct supply though with an increasingly important role for both the church and large-scale urban water storage, with knock-on effects for urban industrial and artisanal installations in the neighbourhood of St Demetrios and the Roman Agora. Ephesos, too, is illustrative of long-term continuities in the functionality of aqueducts, albeit with substantial changes in urban consumption behaviours throughout the city's neighbourhoods. These included, besides industrialization of Roman monumental areas as at Thessaloniki, also arguably more equitable access to a broadened portfolio of water resources, with more street-side fountains, new wells for groundwater in residences, and new cisterns for captured overflow from aqueducts.

Notes

1 For a review of definitions and approaches for neighbourhoods, with an emphasis on spatiality, proximity, co-dependence, and social characteristics, see Robert Chaskin, "Perspectives on Neighborhood and Community: A Review of the Literature," *Social Service Review* 71 (1997): 521–547.

2 For a "service accessibility" perspective on neighbourhoods and urbanism, investigating access to religious, assembly, and market service spaces, see Benjamin W. Stanley et al., "Service Access in Premodern Cities: An Exploratory Comparison of Spatial Equity," *Journal of Urban History* 42 (2016): 121–144.

3 John Duffy, *A History of Public Health in New York City, 1625–1866* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1968); and idem, *A History of Public Health in New York City, 1866–1966* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1974). See also Gerald Koeppel, *Water for Gotham: A History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001).
4 Jordan Pickett, "Hydraulic Landscapes of Cities in the East Roman World," in *Landscapes of Pre-industrial Cities*, ed. Georges Farhat (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2020), 115–142.
5 Julian Richard, *Water for the City, Fountains for the People: Monumental Fountains in the Roman East. An Archaeological Study of Water Management* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012).
6 Dora Crouch, *Geology and Settlement: Greco-Roman Patterns* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).
7 Cynthia K. Kosso and Kevin Lawton, "Women at the Fountain and the Well: Imagining Experience," in *The Nature and Function of Water, Baths, Bathing and Hygiene from Antiquity through the Renaissance*, eds. Cynthia Kosso and Anne Scott (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 87–108.
8 Construction labour for Side's aqueduct has been calculated at 500 individuals working for 36 months: Michael Engels et al., "Die Wasserleitung von Side: Eine Betrachtung aus bautechnischer Sicht" (Dipl. diss., Aachen Institut für Baumaschinen und Baubetrieb, 1983).
9 James Crow, John Bardill, and Richard Bayliss, *Water Supply of Byzantine Constantinople* (London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 2008).
10 Paul Kessener, "The Triple Siphon at Aspendos and its Bridges," in *Archäologie der Brücken*, ed. Marcus Preil (Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Prustet, 2011), 77–83; for its cost of two million denarii [μυριάδας σ'], see René Cagnat, *Inscriptiones Graecae Ad Res Romanas Pertinentes, Tomus Tertius* (Paris: Leroux, 1906), 804.
11 Duncan Keenan-Jones, "Somma-Vesuvian Ground Movements and the Water Supply of Pompeii and the Bay of Naples," *American Journal of Archaeology* 119 (2015): 191–215, here at 208–209.
12 For in-filling of wells and cisterns, and their replacement by fountains, see Lawrence Richardson, *Pompeii: An Architectural History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), 51–73; for Ostia, see Maria Antonietta Ricciardi, *La civiltà dell'acqua in Ostia antica* (Rome: Fratelli Palombi, 1996), 1: 78–87.
13 Jordan Pickett, "Water and Empire in the *de Aedificiis* of Procopius," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 71 (2017): 95–125, here at 104.
14 Alfred Trevor Hodge, *Roman Aqueducts & Water Supply* (London: Duckworth, 2002). A private supply of aqueduct water was a right reserved for wealthy and well-connected Romans: Frontinus, *De aquis Urbis Romae* 105, trans. Charles E. Bennett and Mary B. McElwain, Loeb Classical Library 174 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), 437–439, describes the bureaucratic procedure for obtaining water rights after petitions to the imperial house in Rome, while communities outside the capital were left to negotiate their own arrangements with consumers. In Constantinople, private water rights were conferred on officials by virtue of rank, in correspondence with set diameters of pipes that controlled their household consumption, as indicated by Clyde Pharr, Theresa Sherrer Davidson, and Mary Brown Pharr, *The Theodosian Code and Novels, and the Sirmondian Constitutions* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1952), 15.2 = 430–431.
15 Rick Jones and Damian Robinson, "Water, Wealth, and Social Status at Pompeii: The House of the Vestals in the First Century," *American Journal of Archaeology* 109 (2005): 695–710, here at 699.
16 Raymond Laurence, *Roman Pompeii: Space and Society*, 2nd ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 44–50. Concerns for disease transmission outlined

by Alex Scobie, "Slums, Sanitation, and Mortality in the Roman World," *Klio* 68 (1986): 399–433 have been remarkably undercut by recent bioarchaeological analyses of Roman latrine deposits, see, for example, Marissa L. Ledger et al., "Intestinal Parasitic Infection in the Eastern Roman Empire during the Imperial Period and Late Antiquity," *American Journal of Archaeology* 124 (2020): 631–657.

17 Urban densities: Carlos Noreña, "Water Distribution and the Residential Topography of Augustan Rome," in *Imaging Ancient Rome*, eds. Lothar Haselberger and John Humphrey, Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplement 61 (Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 2006), 91–105.

18 David Johnston, ed., *Cambridge Companion to Roman Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

19 All references below to Justinian's *Digest* [henceforth *CIC Dig*.] come from Alan Watson, trans. *Digest of Justinian* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998).

20 All references below to Justinian's *Code* [henceforth *CIC CI*] come from Bruce W. Frier, ed., *Codex of Justinian: A New Annotated Translation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

21 "In all probability it was not [the *Basilika*'s compilers'] intention to abrogate the Justinianic texts": Bernard Stolte, "Justice: Legal Literature," in *Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*, eds. Elizabeth Jeffreys, John Haldon, and Robin Cormack (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 691–698, here at 692.

22 For comments on the translation of technical terminology from Latin into Greek, see Tom van Bochove, "Preluding the Basilica, But How? The Final Paragraph of the Preface to the Prochiron Reconsidered," *Subseciva Groningana* 9 (2014): 267–318.

23 All references below to the *Basilika* [henceforth *Bas*.] come from Herman J. Scheltema, Douwe Holwerda, and Nicolaas van der Wal, eds., *Basilicorum libri LX* (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1953–1988).

24 For a diversion from aqueducts in the legal sources, see Christer Bruun, "Imperial Power, Legislation, and Water Management in the Roman Empire," *Insights Durham University* 3 (2010): 2–24; and Cynthia Bannon, "Fresh Water in Roman Law: Rights and Policy," *Journal of Roman Studies* 107 (2017): 60–89.

25 For relevant laws on diversions from aqueducts, see *CIC CI* 11.43.6 = *Bas*. 58.19.6; *CTh* 15.2.4 = *CIC CI* 11.43.2 = *Bas*. 58.19.2; *CIC CI* 11.43.11 = *Bas*. 58.19.11 Restitutus; and compare Frontinus, *de Aquis*, II.105.

26 Helen G. Saradi, *The Byzantine City in the Sixth Century: Literary Images and Historical Reality* (Athens: Society of Messenian Studies, 2006), 187.

27 *CIC Dig.* 8.3.3.3 = *Bas.* 58.3.3.

28 Compare the statement of Plutarch, *Lives*, trans. B. Perrin, Loeb Classical Library 46 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914), *Solon* 23.6 = 468–471: "Since the country was not supplied with water by ever-flowing rivers, or lakes, or copious springs, but most of the inhabitants used wells which had been dug, he made a law that where there was a public well within a *hippikon*, a distance of four furlongs [~800 m], that should be used, but where the distance was greater than this, people must try to get water of their own; if, however, after digging to a depth of ten fathoms on their own land, they could not get water, then they might take it from a neighbor's well, filling a five-gallon jar twice a day; for he thought it his duty to aid the needy, not to provision the idle."

29 *CIC Dig.* 8.3.37 = *Bas.* 58.3.37.

30 *CIC Dig.* 10.3.4 = *Bas*. 12.2.4.

31 *CIC Dig.* 43.22.1 = *Bas.* 58.21.

32 *CIC Dig.* 43.24.11 = *Bas.* 58.23.11.

33 *CIC Dig.* 39.3.1.17 = *Bas.* 58.13.

34 *CIC Dig.* 39.3.1.1 = *Bas.* 58.13.
35 *CIC Dig.* 43.20.1.27–28 = *Bas.* 58.20.1.
36 *CIC Dig.* 8.5.8.5 = *Bas.* 58.5.8.
37 *CIC Dig.* 8.2.19 = *Bas.* 58.2.19.
38 *CIC Dig.* 43.23.1 = *Bas.* 58.22.
39 For Roman archaeology as a context for urban servitudes, see Johannes Michael Rainer, *Bau- und nachbarrechtliche Bestimmungen im klassischen römischen Recht* (Graz: Leykam Verlag, 1987); and Bruce W. Frier, *Landlords and Tenants in Imperial Rome* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980).
40 Catherine Saliou, *Lois des batiments: Voisinage et habitat urbain dans l'empire romain. Recherches sur les rapports entre le droit et la construction privée du siècle d'Auguste au siècle de Justinien,* Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 116 (Beirut: Institut française d'archéologie du proche-orient, 1994).
41 For other relevant case studies, with water infrastructure available for study at the neighbourhood-scale, see also Gortyna on Crete, Jerash in Northern Jordan, Kôm el-Dikka in Alexandria, and the Late Byzantine houses of Pergamon. For Gortyna: Ch. Tsigonaki in this volume and Elisabetta Giorgi, *Archeologia dell'acqua a Gortina di Creta in età protobizantina* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2012). For Jerash, see especially the closed system of fountains along the Cardo, still operational until the eighth century: Jacques Seigne, "Fontaines et adduction d'eau à Gerasa (Jerash, Jordanie)," *Syria* 85 (2008): 33–50; the early Byzantine quarter near St Theodore, Carl Kraeling, ed., *Gerasa, City of the Decapolis* (New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1938), 281–297; and Adam Lichtenberger and Rubina Raja, "New Archaeological Research in the Northwest Quarter of Jerash and Its Implications for the Urban Development of Roman Gerasa," *American Journal of Archaeology* 119 (2015): 483–500. For Kôm el-Dikka: Mieczysław Rodziewicz, *Alexandrie III: Les habitations romains tardives d'Alexandrie à la lumiere des fouilles polonaises à Kôm el-Dikka* (Warsaw: Éditions Scientifiques de Pologne, 1984), esp. 128–129. Pergamon: Klaus Rheidt, *Die Stadtgrabung, Teil 2: Die byzantinische Wohnstadt* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1991), esp. 219–223.
42 Yosef Porath, "The Water Supply to Caesarea: A Reassessment," in *Aqueducts of Israel*, eds. David Amit, Joseph Patrich, and Yizhar Hirschfeld (Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 2002), 104–129.
43 See below n. 49–50 for references to wells. For climate impacts see Adam Izdebski, Jordan Pickett, Neil Roberts, Tomasz Waliszewski, "The Environmental, Archaeological and Historical Evidence for Regional Climatic Changes and Their Societal Impacts in the Eastern Mediterranean in Late Antiquity," *Quaternary Science Reviews* 136 (2016): 189–208.
44 Exceptions include two small street fountains facing the intersection of Cardo W1 and Decumanus S1 at the Western Stoa: Joseph Patrich, "Caesarea in Transition: The Archaeological Evidence from the Southwest Zone (Areas CC, KK, NN)," in *Shaping the Middle East: Jews, Christians, and Muslims in an Age of Transition 400–800 C.E.*, eds. Kenneth G. Holum and Hayim Lapin (Bethesda, MD: University Press of Maryland, 2011), 33–65, here at 38; fountains on the west façade of the central Temple/Church Platform, and a very few from late antique administrative buildings and mansions off Cardo W1: Porath, "Water Supply," 122 for the Temple Platform; for fountains off Cardo W1 see Yosef Porath, Avner Raban, and Joseph Patrich, "The Caesarea Excavation Project – March 1992–June 1994," *Explorations and Surveys in Israel* 17 (1998): 42–43, fig. 6 and 45–6, fig. 11; Joseph Patrich, *Archaeological Excavations at Caesarea Maritima: Areas CC, KK and NN Final Reports. Volume I: The Objects* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2008), here at 1–10 with plans.

45 Robert R. Stieglitz, *Tel Tanninim: Excavations at Krokodeilon Polis 1996–1999* (Boston, MA: American Schools of Oriental Research, 2006).

46 For a similar shortage resulting in violence at urban fountains, albeit with a climatic cause, in drought at Constantinople, see the account in Theophanes: Cyril Mango, Roger Scott, and Geoffrey Greatrex, *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor: Byzantine and Near Eastern History A.D. 284–813* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), AM 6055 = 349.

47 Note that this passage seems to describe the blockage of pipes with sinter, a very common hard water build-up of calcium carbonate from spring water. See Gül Sürmelihindi et al., "Laminated Carbonate Deposits in Roman Aqueducts: Origin, Processes and Implications," *Sedimentology* 60 (2013): 961–982.

48 Philip Mayerson, "Choricius of Gaza on the Water Supply System of Caesarea," *Israel Exploration Journal* 36 (1986): 269–272, here at 270–1.

49 Porath, "Water Supply," 124–5.

50 Compare Ya'el D. Arnon, *Caesarea Maritima, the Late Periods (700–1291 CE)*, BAR International Series 1771 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2008), 17–18 for wells of houses in Area I. Note too al-Baladhuri's probably legendary account from *The Origins of the Islamic State,* trans. P. K. Hitti (New York: Columbia University Press, 1916), 217/141, which describes Mu'awiyah entering Caesarea during the siege of 640 "through a tunnel, the water in which would reach a man's waist". The state of the aqueduct, and its relation to the wells of the city after the sixth century, is still a matter of debate, for which see Patrich, "Caesarea in Transition," 38. For the Byzantine wells, see also Dorit Sivan et al., "Ancient Coastal Wells of Caesarea Maritima, Israel, an Indicator for Relative Sea Level Changes during the Last 2000 Years," *Earth and Planetary Science Letters* 222 (2004): 315–330, for a schematic map of Caesarea's wells, along with a table for their chronology and depth. For ceramic analyses from well deposits, see Cherie J. Lenzen, "The Byzantine/Islamic Occupation at Caesarea Maritima as Evidenced through the Pottery," PhD diss., Drew University, 1983.

51 Thessaloniki: for an economic overview of results from the Metro excavations, with an extensive bibliography, see Anastassios Ch. Antonaras, *Arts, Crafts and Trades in Ancient and Byzantine Thessaloniki: Archaeological, Literary and Epigraphic Evidence* (Mainz: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, 2016).

52 Jean M. Spieser, *Thessalonique et ses monuments du IVe au VI siècle: Contribution à l'étude d'une ville paléochrétienne* (Athens: École française d'Athènes, 1984), 13 and Petros N. Papageorgiou, "Θεσσαλονίκης Βυζαντιακοὶ ναοὶ καὶ ἐπιγράμματα, I: Ὁ ναὸς Δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 10 (1901): 23–39, here at 36–37, for an impressively large (16.4 × 3.6 × 1.8m), triple chambered cistern at Holy Apostles.

53 See reports in *Αρχαιολογικον Δελτίον* 55 (2000) [2009]: 743–747 and 751–752 for Byzantine wells cutting through earlier graves in the west necropolis; note also the sixth-century basket capitals reused as well-curbs, on display in the Thessaloniki Byzantine Museum, personal observation.

54 For the cistern at the Octagon – installed in the seventh century, in use until the twelfth, on the basis of ceramic evidence – see Phanè Athanassiou, Benetia Malama, Maria Miza, and Maria Sarantidou, "Οι οικοδομικές φάσεις του οκτάγωνου των ανακτόρων του Γαλερίου στη Θεσσαλονίκη," *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και στη Θράκη* 18 (2004) [2006]: 239–253.

55 On the monastery, where "a late twelfth century octagonal chapel outside the monastery precinct survived as a church of the [secular] settlement [nearby]," see Charalambos Bakirtzis, "The Urban Continuity and Size of Late Byzantine Thessaloniki," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 57 (2003): 35–64, here at 38.

56 Manolis Manoledakis and Paschalis Androudis, "Το σύστημα υδρομάστευσης (qanat) της Αγίας Παρασκευής Χορτιάτη," *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και στη Θράκη* 21 (2007): 285–292.

57 Manolis Manoledakis and Euterpe Marki, "Το υδραγωγείο του Χορτιάτη," *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και στη Θράκη* 22 (2008): 361–368.

58 Kyriaki Eleutheriadou, Ioannis Kanonides, Despoina Makroupolou, and Demetris Nalpantes, "Σωστικές Ἀνασκαφές Θεσσαλονίκης," *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και στη Θράκη* 2 (1988): 271–276, here at 274–276 for traces of the Chortiates qanat as it entered into the city. Large Early and Middle Byzantine cisterns were also excavated nearby at 90 Olymbiados street, 10 Eptapyrgiou Street, and 3 Arsinoes and Kastoros Streets.

59 Spieser, *Thessalonique*, 13 and Oreste Tafrali, *Topographie de Thessalonique* (Paris: Geuthner, 1918), 118–119.

60 In 1185, the threat of Normans besieging the city was cause for a repair to the large cisterns at Heptapyrgion on the acropolis, to ensure an emergency backup supply in the event of prolonged siege or attempts to cut the outside supply line from Chortiates: Spieser, *Thessalonique*, 12 n. 30–31. Bakirtzis indicates that the Vlatadon Monastery – founded in the fourteenth century just outside the acropolis' southwest corner – was equipped with three large cisterns in its courtyard, which were critical components for water distribution to the rest of the city: see Bakirtzis, "Urban Continuity," 60.

61 The *Miracula Demetrii* attests to water shortage in Thessaloniki – during the Avaro-Slavic siege of 618 and the Periboundous affair of 675–676 – due to lack of rain, and the overpopulation of the hinterland by marauding siegers, respectively, rather than any technical failure of the city's aqueducts. *Miracula Demetrii*, trans. P. Lemerle (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1978–80), I: 181 and 201, and II: 247. Many centuries later, the Komnenian *typikon* of the Pantokrator monastery in Constantinople records, among the monastery's properties in Thessaloniki, the rights to water delivered by conduit from Chortiates and watermills in the city itself: τὸ δίκαιον τοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ Χορταίτου καταρρέοντος ὕδατος σὺν τῷ ἀγωγῷ καὶ τοῖς ἐν θεσσαλονίκῃ ἐνεργοῦσι μύλωσι. See Paul Gauthier, "Le typicon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator," *Revue des études byzantines* 32 (1974): 1–147, here at 120–121, lls.1534–1535.

62 During the 1430 siege of the city, monks of the Vlatadon Monastery traitorously wrote to Sultan Murad II to inform him that the city could be taken by cutting its aqueduct: see Tafrali, *Topographie*, 114–119.

63 See, for example, Stella Vasileiadou and Stavroula Tzevreni, "Μεταμορφώσεις του αστικού τοπίου της Θεσσαλονίκης από τον 4ο στον 9ο αιώνα στη διασταύρωση του *decumanus maximus* με τον cardo της οδού Βενιζέλου (Ανασκαφή σταθμού Βενιζέλου – μετρό Θεσσαλονίκης)," *Δελτίον της Χηριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* 41 (2020): 35–56.

64 These baths were in any case not identical to the Roman bath on which the church was built. Banded brick and masonry structures at the northwest corner of the church, with hypocausts still visible, should probably be related to this rather smaller late antique bath, or perhaps to an episcopium. This may be the complex referred to by the *Miracula Demetrii*, I: 73 in association with the plague outbreak of 586.

65 *Miracula Demetrii*, II: 205–206 for Lemerle's comments on the church's relationship to the Roman baths, and the nymphaeum/hagiasma in the crypt.

66 Kara M. Hattersley-Smith, *Byzantine Public Architecture between the Fourth and Early Eleventh Centuries AD, with Special Reference to the Towns of Byzantine Macedonia* (Thessaloniki: Society for Macedonian Studies, 1996), 235.

67 Charalambos Bakirtzis, "Ἡ αγορά της Θεσσαλονίκης στα παλαιοχριστιανικά χρόνια," in *Actes du Xe Congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne,*

Thessalonique, 28 septembre – 4 octobre 1980 (Rome: Pontificio istituto di archeologia cristiana, 1984), 2: 13.

68 Ibid., 17.

69 For these workshops, see Antonaras, *Arts,* catalogue numbers 19 (ceramics 5th–7th c.), 26 (ceramics during Byzantine period), 41 (ceramics 3rd–6th c. near Odeon), 49 (the state mint, north of the Odeon, 4th–5th c.), 50 (metalworking after 7th c. in area of Odeon), 51 (metalworking in area of St Demetrios), 61 (glass workshops 5th–6th c.), 79 (dyer in south agora from 5th c.), and 84 (early Christian tannery in south agora).

70 Sabine Ladstätter, "Ephesos from Late Antiquity until the Middle Ages: An Archaeological Introduction," in *Ephesos from Late Antiquity Until the Late Middle Ages: Proceedings of the International Conference at the Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations, Koç University, Istanbul 30th November – 2nd December 2012*, eds. Sabine Ladstätter and Paul Magdalino (Vienna: ÖAI, 2019), 11–72, for example, at 29 or 37.

71 Additional, spatially distinct neighbourhoods beyond the scope of discussion here might be located along the so-called Theatergasse, by the Hippodrome and Vedius Gymnasium, or along the Harbour Canal.

72 Streets at Ephesos: see Fikret Yegül, "The Street Experience of Ancient Ephesos," in *Streets: Critical Perspectives on Public Space*, eds. Zeynep Çelik, Diane Favro, and Richard Ingersoll (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 95–110.

73 Earthquakes and infrastructure: see Lee Mordechai and Jordan Pickett, "Earthquakes as the Quintessential SCE: Methodology and Societal Resilience," *Human Ecology* 46 (2018): 335–348.

74 Sabine Ladstätter and Andreas Pülz, "Ephesos in the Late Roman and Early Byzantine Period: Changes in its Urban Character from the Third to the Seventh Century AD," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 141 (2007): 391–433.

75 Water at Ephesos: Gilbert Wiplinger, "Die Wasserversorgung von Ephesos in byzantinischer Zeit," in *Ephesos in byzantinischer Zeit,* eds. Falko Daim and Sabine Ladstätter (Mainz: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, 2011), 103–124; and Jordan Pickett, "Temples, Churches, Cisterns and Pipes: Water in Late Antique Ephesos," in *De Aquaeductu Atque Aqua Urbium Lyciae Pamphyliae Pisidiae*, ed. Gilbert Wiplinger (Leuven: Babesch/Peeters, 2016), 297–312.

76 Stefan Karwiese, "The Church of Mary and the Temple of Hadrian Olympios," in *Ephesos Metropolis of Asia: An Interdisciplinary Approach to its Archaeology, Religion, and Culture*, ed. Helmut Koester (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1995), 311–320.

77 Temple of Serapis / church conversion: "Wissenschaftlicher Jahresbericht des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts 2015," *Jahresberichte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts* (2015), 12–13. For the redirected water channels, see Pickett, "Temples," 306–307.

78 Church and reservoir near Prytaneion: Hermann Vetters, "Das Regierungsviertel" in "Grabungen in Ephesos von 1960–1969 bzw. 1970," *Jahrbuch des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts* 50 (1972/1975): Beibl. 249; also, "Wissenschaftlicher Jahresbericht des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts 2008," *Jahresbericht des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts* (2008), 14; and Martin Steskal, *Das Prytaneion in Ephesos* (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010), 83.

79 St Luke / monopteros fountain: Andreas Pülz, *Sog. Lukasgrab in Ephesos: Eine Fallstudie zur Adaption antiker Monumente in byzantinischer Zeit* (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010).

80 East baths / church conversion: Hermann Vetters, "Ephesos: Vorläufiger Grabungsbericht 1981," *Anzeiger Wien* 119 (1982): 62–101, here at 71–72.

81 Mill conversions in the Hanghäuser: Stefanie Wefers et al., *Die Mühlenkaskade von Ephesos: Technikgeschichtliche Studien zur Versorgung einer spätantiken bis frühbyzantinischen Stadt* (Mainz: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, 2015).

82 Celsus library façade nymphaeum conversion: Rudolf Heberdey, "Vorläufiger Bericht über die Grabungen in Ephesos 1902/1903," *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien* 7 (1904): Beibl. 37–56, here at Fig. 10 and 54–55; for the complex at the south, see Hermann Vetters, "Ephesos: Vorläufiger Grabungsbericht 1973," *Anzeiger Wien* 111 (1974): 215–216; and Hermann Vetters, "Ephesos: Vorläufiger Grabungsbericht 1978," *Anzeiger Wien* 116 (1979): 126–127 with plan.

83 Houses in Upper Agora: "Wissenschaftlicher Jahresbericht des ÖAI 2009," *Jahresberichte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts* (2009): 16. For watermill in the Upper Agora, see Pickett, "Temples," 301–302.

84 Temple of Domitian cisterns: Josef Keil, "Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Ephesos," *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien* 27 (1932): Beibl. Sp. 5–72, here at 54; and Hermann Vetters, "Domitianterrasse und Domitiangasse," in *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien* 50 (1972–1975): Beiblatt 311–330, here at 320–321.

85 House in Verulanus halls: ÖAI, "Wissenschaftlicher Jahresbericht des ÖAI 2009," *Jahresberichte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts* 2015 (Wien: ÖAW, 2015), 5–49.

86 Note, for example, drains at the Verulanus hall house, ibid. 7; for drains throughout the city see Gilbert Wiplinger, "Die Kanäle von Ephesos," in *Expedition in die Kulturgeschichte des Abwassers*, ed. Heinz Krejci (Vienna: Magistrat der Stadt Wien, 2004), 73–86.

87 Fountains and nymphaea at Ephesos: Johanna Auinger and Elisabeth Rathmayr, "Zur spätantiken Statuenausstattung der Thermen und Nymphäen in Ephesos," in *Statuen in der Spätantike*, eds. Franz Alto Bauer and Christian Witschel (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2007), 237–269.

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Part III

Byzantine neighbourhoods as political agents

6 The Oxeia

A neighbourhood biography

Benjamin Anderson

τῷ ἁγίῳ μάρτυρι, ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς

Constantinople, writes Gilbert Dagron, "had its institutions before it constituted a political, social, and economic reality; its ramparts before its residences, and its residences before its inhabitants."[1] To this we might add that it had districts before neighbourhoods. Anthropological archaeologists distinguish between a neighbourhood, understood as a "residential zone marked by face-to-face interactions and distinctive physical and social characteristics" and a district, understood as an administrative entity drawn on a larger scale. The development of neighbourhoods is driven by unofficial processes of social clustering and by periodic bodily and spiritual requirements, while districts are drawn by states in order to render the city legible to police, tax-collectors, and other functionaries.[2]

The early sources for the history of Constantinople give the state's view. The fifth-century *Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae* divides the city into 14 *regiones*, which are districts and not neighbourhoods. The anonymous author describes himself as a retiree who has gathered statistics from civil servants. Although not himself an official, he sees like a state: panoptically and analytically, listing sums of *vici*, *domus*, *porticus*, *balneae*, *pistrina privata*, *gradus*, and *collegiati* for each region.[3]

When the *domus* per region are represented cartographically, they reveal the emergence of neighbourhoods. The regions are districts, but behind them we can see neighbourhoods emerge. There is substantial evidence for social clustering. The author of the *Notitia* writes of region 1, at the tip of the peninsula, that it is "distinguished by the residences of the royal family and the nobility." This region shares with the other districts on the Sea of Marmara a low density of domestic buildings. This stands in contrast to the high-density regions on the Golden Horn, within which stood the neighbourhoods known as the Zeugma and the Oxeia: less grand, busier, and sometimes hostile to authority (Figure 6.1).[4] For the sixth-century historians, the Zeugma appears primarily as a problem: people are murdered there, and the emperor is harassed when passing through the area in

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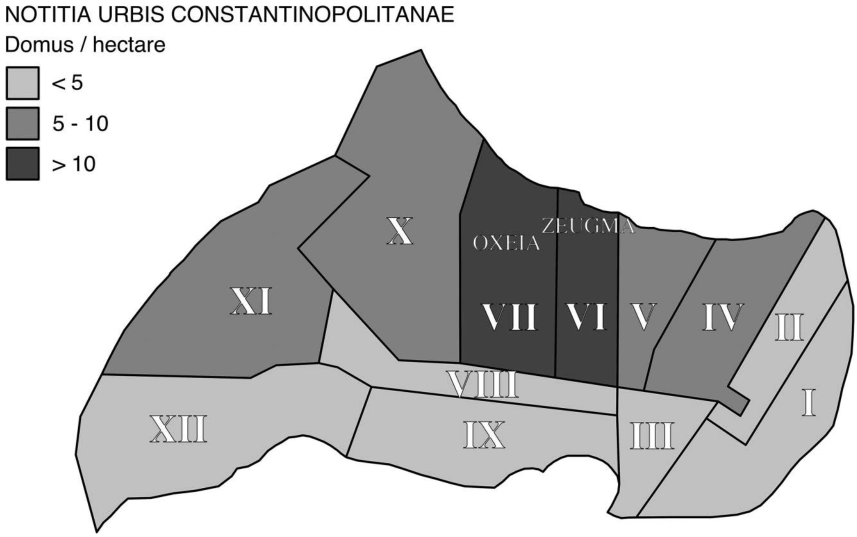

Figure 6.1 The 12 regions within the walls of Constantinople, with density of domestic building as tabulated by the *Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae*, and approximate locations of the Oxeia and the Zeugma. Image produced by the author.

a procession.[5] The historians, like the author of the *Notitia*, see like a state, and cannot depict how the residents of the Zeugma viewed themselves, how they regulated their affairs, what values they shared.

The Oxeia is different. Physically prominent as the highest point between the Forum of Constantine and the Apostoleion, it emerges textually in the sixth century, on account of the presence there of the mortal remains of the holy martyr Artemios. The wonders wrought by the relics are related in a seventh-century anthology of edifying tales, written down in the neighbourhood and very much set within the neighbourhood.

The following account begins with an analysis of the physical setting of the Oxeia and its architectural development in Late Antiquity. It then turns to the evidence of the miracle stories: first, their view of the neighbourhood's spatial and social characteristics; second, their prescriptive account of the values that its residents shared. The conclusion considers the implication of this local view of the Oxeia for broader issues in the urban development of medieval Constantinople.

The Oxeia in Late Antiquity

Ἡ Ὀξεῖα means "the sharp"; already in Homer it is used of a mountain peak.[6] In Constantinople, it names the eminence upon which the sixteenth-century complex of Sultan Süleyman now stands, beyond which the ground drops steeply north to the Golden Horn.[7] As the author of the *Notitia* remarks twice in his description of region 7: it "falls away to the sea"; "the whole region descends to the sea."[8] Below the Oxeia lies the Zeugma, along the inlet's shores.

Scant pre-Ottoman remains have been documented in region 7: ragged scraps of the Forum of Theodosius along its southern border; two small cisterns also in the south. The region was redeveloped under Sultan Mehmet II after 1453: the new Grand Bazaar occupied the southeast, while the first of Mehmet's two palaces stood at its centre, including the land on which Süleyman built his complex in the following century.[9] Of the Oxeia's Byzantine history, only the physical geography and the texts remain.

In addition to the high number of houses, the author of the *Notitia* also distinguishes several monuments in region 7: the northern part of the Forum of Theodosius (also known as the Tauros) along the Mese, including its spiral relief column; churches of Irene, Anastasia, and Paul; the *Thermae Carosianae*.[10] Did any of these occupy the Oxeia? The Forum was further south, carved out of the opposite slope that drops to the Sea of Marmara. The church of Anastasia occupied this same slope, slightly east of the Forum and just north of the Mese.[11] It was built into the "porticoes of Domninos," which lined the southern extent of the Makros Embolos, the north-south artery that divided region 6 from 7 and terminated at the Golden Horn (cf. Figure 1.2).[12] The church of Irene stood at this northern end of the Makros Embolos, that of Paul, perhaps, in between to the west.[13]

That leaves only the Thermae, a bath-gymnasium complex dedicated in 375 in the name of Valens' daughter Carosa, two years after the completion of her father's aqueduct. The name *thermae*, the explicit inclusion of a gymnasium, and the patron all suggest it was a monumental, "imperial" bath. The Thermae dropped out of the historical record after the fifth century.[14] They must have drawn from the aqueduct, whose preserved course (the Bozdoğan Kemeri) terminates very near the Oxeia.[15] Perhaps the baths stood on or near the hilltop.

In the late fifth and early sixth centuries, one major public structure was built near the Oxeia, and one was built on it. The first was the Baths of Dagistheos, which stood across the Makros Embolos from the church of Anastasia (cf. Figure 1.2).[16] Their construction was initiated by the emperor Anastasios (491–518), and completed in 528 by the emperor Justinian (527–565). We hear no more of Carosa's *thermae*, which the "public *loutron*" of Dagistheos seems to replace.[17] This is also explicitly an imperial benefaction, but *loutron* suggests a more modest structure than *thermae*. The decades required to finish its construction may speak less to scale, more to neglect.

The second public structure in Oxeia is the church of John the Forerunner and the Baptist, which is intimately associated with the holy martyr Artemios, whose annual feast was celebrated there: εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ ἁγίου προδρόμου καὶ βαπτιστοῦ Ἰωάννου ἐν τῇ Ὀξείᾳ.[18] Its absence from the *Notitia* dates it to after ca. 450. By the seventh century, it was deeply integrated into the life of the surrounding neighbourhood, as we learn from the miracle stories discussed below.

A tenth-century source, the *Patria*, states that the emperor Anastasios, who lived there before his accession, built the church, and that after Artemios' relics arrived, the church took the saint's name.[19] This is the first we hear of Anastasios' old house.[20] But analysis of the hagiographic traditions regarding the translation and efficacy of Artemios' relics also points to the establishment of his Oxeia-based cult in the late fifth or early sixth centuries.

Artemios was a *doux* of Egypt who was executed under the emperor Julian.[21] His pre-metaphrastic *passio*, whose prototype should be placed in the fifth century, describes a transfer of relics to Constantinople by the deaconess Ariste.[22] Only the later, shorter versions preserved in the Constantinopolitan and Armenian synaxaria name their eventual home as the church of John the Forerunner in Oxeia.[23] Albert Duforcq supposed that the earlier tradition dated to the fifth century, the later to the sixth.[24]

Should we accept the *Patria*'s identification of Anastasios as patron of the church of John? The tidiest solution, for which there is no evidence, is to suppose that Anastasios gave the abandoned *thermae* of Carosa to religious use when he initiated the construction of the new *loutron* of Dagistheos. As a hypothesis, this is economical and could explain the proximity of group latrines to the church's north aisle.[25] The strongest argument against Anastasios' involvement is his total absence both from the miracle stories and from the synaxaria. In the miracles, the earliest emperor named is Maurikios (582–602): not as a patron, but to date the healing of an Alexandrian sailor.[26]

Let us summarize the foregoing. The Oxeia is an element in the physical topography of Constantinople: an eminence from which the ground falls to the Golden Horn. In the later fourth century, it was near the imperial *thermae*. In the fifth century, the administrative district in which it stood was marked by the city's highest density of domestic buildings. The thermae drop from notice by the latter half of the fifth century; to the same period, and to the emperor Anastasios, is attributed (unambiguously) the initiative to build a new *loutron*, and (ambiguously) establishment of a church of St. John the Forerunner, which soon housed the remains of the holy martyr Artemios. The earliest dated story regarding events at the church takes place in the later sixth century. We now turn to those stories, which provide rich evidence for the nature of the neighbourhood about the Oxeia.

The Oxeia in the seventh century: the miracles of Artemios

"An Account of the Miracles of the Holy and Glorious Megalomartyr and Wonderworker Artemios" names a compilation of 45 miracle stories (*thaumata*), accompanied by a brief introduction, which are preserved in a single complete manuscript, and were published by Athanasios

Papadopoulos-Kerameus in 1909.[27] In 1997, Virgil Crisafulli and John W. Nesbitt published an English translation accompanied by a reproduction of Papadopoulos-Kerameus' text and an extensive introduction and commentary.[28]

The earliest dramatic date for a miracle (no. 21) is during the reign of Maurikios (582–602). Four miracles (17, 18, 21, and 34) are dated to the reign of Herakleios (610–641), and two (23 and 41) to the reign of Constans II (641–668); the latter two more precisely to 656 and 658. As Constans' successor is nowhere named, the traditional date for the collection is 658–668.[29] I consider the miracles to have been compiled and composed at the church of St. John in the 660s, by a single individual who had access to accounts that spanned the previous six to eight decades.[30]

In the great majority of the miracles, a man suffers a groin injury (hydrocele, inguinal hernia, or similar),[31] and is healed through the intervention of Artemios.[32] In a parallel, the illness of a woman is healed through the intervention of the holy Febronia, to whom an oratory (εὐκτήριον) was dedicated, and whose feast was also celebrated, at the church of John.[33] Healing may occur at the church, where many sufferers spend the night in hopes of intervention; or it may occur remotely, either in the immediate vicinity (at a blacksmith's in the Porticoes of Domninos [26], at the Baths of Dagistheos [13]), or as far away as Gaul (27).[34] Nearly all of those cured at a distance made prior visits to the shrine, "for the saint had been known to visit many at sea and in their homes after they had stayed a while and departed (35)."[35]

Inside the church, the miracles detail the suffering of men who are ashamed to expose their injuries.[36] Outside the church, the miracles conjure "a busy urban environment in which both rich and poor, powerful and humble are thrown together in the course of their daily business."[37] To a twenty-first-century reader, both aspects present as "realist."[38] However, no story is preserved in which the saint fails to cure a worthy sufferer, and he even cures the unworthy on occasion.[39] The miracles also represent in a consistent fashion the relations between the shrine, its vicinity, and the people who move within and between them. They do not show the Oxeia as it actually functioned, but provide a normative account of what constitutes a neighbourhood and how it should function.[40]

In spatial terms, the miracles play out on the high plateau between the Oxeia and the Mese (Figure 6.2). The church of John appears constantly, usually its interior but also the immediately adjacent latrines (35), and an unspecified space "nearby the church" where a moneychanger sits and where men play dice (18) – perhaps a portico or a plateia. The porticoes of Domninos are named four times and described as near to the church of John (4). Within the porticoes are a blacksmith (26), and the church of Anastasia, which is linked to the church of John by a regular procession (29). Near the church of Anastasia is the hospital of Christodotes (22). A sufferer visits the baths of Dagistheos immediately upon leaving the church of John (13).

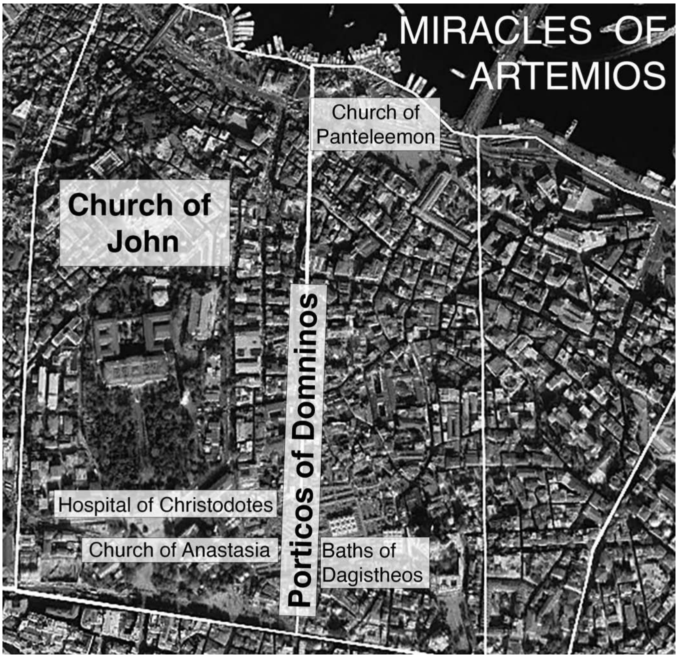

Figure 6.2 The local stage of the *Miracles of Artemios*. Labels indicate approximate locations (but neither size nor form) of monuments long since disappeared. Image produced by the author.

We know the porticoes of Domninos, the church of Anastasia, and the baths of Dagistheos from other sources, and would place them all in the vicinity of the Oxeia even without the testimony of the miracles. Miracle 21 situates two toponyms a short walk from the church, which cannot otherwise be located: τὰ Ἰορδάνου, where a sufferer purchases candles, and τὰ Βιβιανοῦ, where he drops them.[41] Only once, in miracle 18, does the text name a location that can be placed north of the Oxeia, down the slope and toward Zeugma and Golden Horn. This is the church of holy Panteleemon in the Roufinou, frequented by demoniacs.[42] A habitué of the church of John, robbed while at worship (we shall return to him), is directed there for information about the crime; apparently the demoniacs doubled as fortune-tellers.[43] "But upon hearing the cry of the possessed, he said to himself: 'Now I am forsaking God and approaching demons….' Saying this, he returned home and in a state of dejection threw himself on the bed…". This is the one time in the miracles that a person finds himself too far from home.

The combination of physical geography (the high plateau) and monumental architecture (baths, churches, and porticoes in particular) constitute the "distinctive physical characteristics" that make the Oxeia a neighbourhood.

Beyond the Oxeia there is a city, beyond that city, a sea. Andrew is a deacon and *apokrisarios* at the famous monastery of the Virgin of the Spring, outside the Theodosian walls; his abbot directs him to visit Artemios, but "Andrew said that he did not know where to go," and the abbot sends his nephew to guide him (37). As a boy, George served the church of John as a reader. As a young man, he becomes a deacon on Plateia in the Sea of Marmara. Artemios visits him there twice, and George returns to the Oxeia to honour his relics (38, 39, and 40). People who visit the shrine from outside Constantinople travel by sea: two Rhodians (9 and 35), an African (4), a Chian (5), a sailor cured in the Dardanelles (14), and a shipbuilder cured off Gaul (27).

Although the Oxeia is open to the city, the miracles do not portray the same Constantinople that the state saw: the monumental armature, the string of imperial fora along the Mese, Hagia Sophia, the Great Palace. Only miracle 21 invokes the monumental core at the tip of the peninsula, invoking Hagia Sophia and the Hospital of Sampson – its protagonist fails to find a cure in the latter. The fora do not appear – not even the directly proximate Forum of Theodosius – and the Mese is not named. But the burgled churchgoer of miracle 18 ends up in the urban prefect's Praitorion, which stood on the Mese between the Forum of Constantine and the Augustaion.[44]

Miracle 18 also presents the greatest social breadth of any of the stories: from the despised demoniacs ranting outside the church of Panteleemon, through the humble victim and swaggering culprits, up to a local moneychanger and treasurer, the employees of the urban prefect, and ultimately the prefect himself – the highest-ranking figure to appear in any of the stories. In the entirety of the collection, emperors are named only to date particular events. If indeed the miracles were composed in the last decade of Constans II's reign, then he was probably not in town. He left Constantinople in 661/62, and his mortal remains returned after his assassination in Siracusa in 668.[45]

Thus, the author depicts a society in which the emperor never acts. Relations between people develop without the emperor; he is not the mediating term that holds things together. The dramatis personae of the miracles exhibit both a remarkable diversity of occupation and an emphasis on the middle ranks of Constantinopolitan society (Table 6.1). The greatest number of characters whose occupation are named practise skilled trades or work in business;[46] somewhat fewer work in the rarefied world of imperial service or are labourers. Churchmen are present, but play a surprisingly subordinate role for a collection of stories set in a church.[47]

To this cast of the living, we may juxtapose a second, more notional community, composed of the various personae that Artemios adopts when he heals the afflicted in dreams and in visions. One girl recognizes him from his icon (34). He also appears as a man of high rank,[48] and as a physician (1, 2, 23, 40, 42, and 44).[49] Sometimes he embodies a specific authority over the sufferer: appearing as a father to a son (1), a captain to a shipbuilder (27), administrator of granaries to a guard (16), and chief physician to an

Table 6.1 Miracles of Artemios, Dramatis personae by occupation

Skilled trade (*n* = 10)	physicians (miracles 1 & 23), sailor (14), actor (17), *psaltes* (18), blacksmith (26), shipbuilder (27), bowmaker (29), tanner (30), coppersmith (44)
Commerce (*n* = 7)	merchant (5), wood dealer (7), silver dealer (10), moneychanger (18), chandler (21), ship-owner (35), gold dealer (38)
Imperial service (*n* = 5)	judge (17), *komentarêsios* (18), eparch (18), *chartoularios* (19), steward to the eparch (22)
Labour (*n* = 4)	bath attendant (11), servant (15), guard (16), wine-merchant's assistant (32)
Monastics (*n* = 3)	*apokrisarios* (36), abbot (37), monk (39)
Ecclesiastical service (*n* = 2)	deacon of the Great Church (21), *xenodochos* of the Christodotes Hospital (22)
Other service (*n* = 1)	demarch of the Blue Faction (21)

assistant (22). In cases which involve a more distinguished suppliant, the difference in rank is less apparent: Artemios appears to a sufferer as "a very distinguished friend, steward of the city eparch" (22), as a "true friend" to a distinguished lady (31), and as a fellow sufferer to a wealthy Rhodian shipowner (35).[50]

Artemios' identity, in other words, is fixed less by the historical narrative conveyed by his *passio*, and more by two contemporary factors: his posthumous residence in the Oxeia, and his ability to assume positions of authority when appearing to the humble, equivalence to the notable. He insists upon his residence. When the deacon George returns to visit the saint's relics, Artemios explains, "I did this in order that you might believe that I am here and that I make my home here" (40). By contrast, he never explains his adoption of bespoke personae. But the two together suffice to establish a representational relationship between Artemios and the neighbourhood. Perhaps he is its distillation, a representation of its variety, condensed in a single figure. Or, since he always appears as a distinguished figure, perhaps he is rather the neighbourhood's patron, a representative of its collective interests.[51]

The values of the Oxeia

Two residents of the Oxeia stand at the centre of longer stories: the burglary victim (18 and 22), and Stephanos, deacon of Hagia Sophia and poietes of the Blues (21). These accounts express a consistent set of values and expectations, which apply to the moral sphere (one should avoid shameful actions and also avoid exposing the failings of others), the social (one should participate in voluntary associations outside of kinship relations), and the economic (one should be liberal with one's coin). Taken together, these principles advance a set of distinctive social characteristics that mark the Oxeia as a neighbourhood.

The story of Stephanos is introduced by a sentence in the third person ("Stephanos… related the following tale"). A first-person narrative, by far the longest in the miracles, follows.[52] Stephanos injures himself in the final year of Herakleios' reign (641), and checks into the Hospital of Sampson, an imperial endowment between Hagia Sophia and Hagia Eirene. He is treated and briefly recovers, but then his condition returns. He is reluctant to stay in the church of John with the other sufferers, precisely because he lives in the neighbourhood, and is "ashamed (αἰσχυνόμενος) before friends and acquaintances to be seen by them in such a condition." Instead, he stops by occasionally when out walking, and retrieves some of the martyr's *eulogia* as a salve.

Two years later, Stephanos dines with Kosmas, leader of the Blue faction which he too serves. On his way home, "late in the evening," he decides to buy candles and visit the martyr. A nearby chandler can only offer a pair without *pinas*;[53] another customer has paid in advance for his one complete pair. Stephanos buys the defective candles, but falls on his way to the church and crushes them. He brings the chunks of wax back to the dealer and pays him for the labour required to turn them back into candles. The chandler relents and gives him the complete pair.

Stephanos finally makes it to the church, lights the candles, and finds the doors to Artemios' tomb open despite the late hour. He proceeds – extraordinary image – to mount the saint's coffin and rub his groin against its edge. He implores the saint to heal him, and once again invokes shame (ἀσχημοσύνη) – this time the saint's, should he fail to supply a cure. A few days later, seeking as always to hide his injury from his neighbours, Stephanos visits a faraway bath at dawn. Upon exiting, he finds himself healed and gives thanks to God and to the martyr.

Three phenomena structure Stephanos' relation to the neighbourhood. The first is the avoidance of shame. Stephanos is ashamed of his injury and unwilling to reveal it to his neighbours. Accordingly, he bathes outside the neighbourhood and eschews residence in the church of John with his fellow sufferers. But Artemios' reputation is also at stake: Stephanos calls down shame upon the martyr should he fail to provide a cure. There are two kinds of avoidance at work here. First, the effort not to fail (Artemios practices this); and second, the recognition that the community does not benefit from public knowledge of its members' failings (Artemios recognizes this, curing Stephanos despite his unwillingness to sleep in the church).

The second phenomenon is a voluntary association, the Blue Faction. Stephanos serves the Blues as poet, suspects that he injured himself while shouting acclamations, and dines with the demarch. The Oxeia may have had a particular relation to the factions. The miracles locate the former stables of the hippodrome horses in the neighbourhood (13). The church of Anastasia was associated specifically with the Blues, and the *Patria* understands the Baths of Dagistheos as an erstwhile meeting hall for the demes.[54]

The third phenomenon is coin. When Stephanos pays the chandler, he "receives change in coins," which he then drops when he falls, scrapes up "down to the last half-follis," and (presumably) gives back to the chandler when he pays his labour cost. This series of transactions becomes noteworthy when one considers that Stephanos (unusually) never has a vision of Artemios. What made his final visit to the church of John different from the previous, whence its efficacy? He bought candles and bought them again, thus awakening the compassion of the previously impassive Artemios, who opened the doors of his tomb "in his desire to pity me."

Each of these three phenomena helps to define the Oxeia as a neighbourhood. Shame conjures morality, the voluntary association sociability, and the coin economy. In each sphere, the story of Stephanos suggests a kind of rule. Avoidance of shame is a legitimate motivation, one should associate with one's fellows outside of the immediate kinship group, and one should be liberal with one's coin – and patronize local businesses.

All three phenomena recur in the story of the burglary, where they are furthermore associated with the same three principles. The victim of the burglary is never named. He has lived alone for 52 years when first introduced (18) and was 62 years old when healed by the saint (22). Unlike Stephanos, he is never explicitly stated to live "in the Oxeia." However, "from a tender age" he has "attended the all-night vigil of the Forerunner" at the church of John, a short walk from his home.[55]

Miracle 18 begins with this vigil, on the eve of the feast of John (June 24). The story does not mention, but we know from the synaxaria, that the feast of the holy Febronia was celebrated at the church of John on the following day, June 25.[56] Thus the story takes place during an extended mid-summer festival. The man is robbed by thieves who know he will attend the vigil. When he returns home, he suspects nothing. Waking up the following morning, he goes to dress up for the feast, only to find that his clothes have been stolen. He goes first to his neighbours, who plead ignorance, but suggest that he ask one of the demoniacs at the church of Panteleemon. He heads all the way there before realizing his error in "forsaking God and approaching demons," and returns home, where, despondent, he falls on his bed.

Artemios appears to him in a dream and chastises him for not joining the procession. The man invokes his inadequate wardrobe, and the martyr promises to reveal the burglar's identity. The man swears an oath "not to harm the thief," and indeed to reward him should he return the clothes.[57] The saint identifies "Theodosios the *psaltes*." Waking up, the man walks to the church of John, outside which the moneychanger Abraamios chides him for not joining the procession; for Abraamios is also "the treasurer of the society (φιλικόν) of the society of all-night celebrants." The man tells his tale of woe and reveals the essence of his dream.

Theodosios the *psaltes* is playing dice nearby and overhears them. He challenges the victim, who, "realizing that if he shamed (καταισχύνει) [Theodosios] in front of everyone, he would deny it," evades the question. Theodosios demands a list of what has been lost. Less than an hour later, Theodosios returns with his brother ("with whom he had in fact committed the burglary"), who is in the custody of the *komentaresios* Drosos, and wearing the man's clothes. The victim joins the expedition to the *sekretarios*, Alexander of Perada, who in his turn leads the entire party before the urban prefect in the *praitorion*, placing the victim off on one side ("near the curtain").

The urban prefect asks what happened. The *sekretarios* accuses the thieves: the victim "lent them clothes in order that they might look their best for a wedding and they pawned them."[58] The victim cannot hear the statement, and obligingly affirms its truth. One of the prefect's deputies is also a vigil-goer; in an aside, he urges the victim to "say that you were burglarized in order that they might be publicly disgraced." But the victim remembers his oath to the saint, and intervenes with the *sekretarios*, requesting the return of his clothes and the release of the brothers, and promising to pay the *sekretarios* his standard fee.

This is the resolution: the *sekretarios* swears not to harm the brothers; the victim pays the *sekretarios* and the *kommentaresios*; the thieves return the clothes, except for those that the brother had on, which the victim "forfeited … out of compassion that he might not be stark naked"; the victim presents Theodosios with a gift, as he had promised the saint.

The burgled man returns in miracle 22, in which he falls ill, and uses his connections to gain admission to the Christodotes Hospital. There he stays for ten months, also developing a massive hernia. The doctor considers it untreatable. On Christmas Day (December 25, mid-winter, the opposite end of the calendar from miracle 18), the man implores John, Artemios, and Febronia to help him. Artemios treats him in a dream, but when the man awakes he is no better. He despairs; the doctors are at home celebrating the feast; Artemios appears to a physician's assistant in a dream and tells him to go help the man. On arriving at the hospital, the assistant finds the hernia already diminished and continues to drain the man's wound. A sweet fragrance descends. When the chief physician returns on the following day, he is amazed to find the man healed. All praise God.

The same three phenomena that structure Stephanos' relationship to his neighbourhood recur in the story of the anonymous man. First, avoidance of shame, which is once again double: one tries not to fail, but also avoids drawing attention to the failings of others. As for the first aspect, the man is ashamed to appear in public on the feast day without his best clothes.[59] As for the second, Artemios makes the man swear that he will do no ill (κακοποιεῖς) to the burglar. Since no physical threat is invoked, in practice this means not to publicly shame him. The strategy has a practical advantage: the man avoids accusing Theodosios directly outside the church because if Theodosios is shamed he will deny everything. But it also becomes a moral principle. Exhorted by the prefect's deputy to accuse the thieves, so that they might be "publicly disgraced" (περιβωμισθῶσιν, literally, "paraded about"),[60] he remembers his oath to the saint, and calls a halt to the proceedings.

Second, a voluntary association. This time it is the society of the all-night celebrants.[61] Only Abraamios is explicitly stated to belong, indeed to serve as treasurer. In this capacity, however, he levies a fine on the burglary victim, who must therefore also be a member.

Third, coin. The victim promises Artemios to give the thief a gift (φιλοτιμίον) should he recover his clothes; this need not be monetary, but the fine (προστίμον) demanded by Abraamios certainly is. Therefore, the story is "monetized" through the encounter with Abraamios, who is by profession a banker. Notably, this fine is the one debt that the man is never said to pay. Otherwise, he is scrupulous at the story's end, "giving the *sekretarios* eight silver hexagrams and three to the *kommentaresios*" (these are in essence court costs), and supplying Theodosios with his promised gift in the form of "half a gold coin."

In these detailed accounts of two residents of the Oxeia, Artemios both practices and enunciates the mechanisms that allow the neighbourhood to regulate its own affairs. All three mechanisms are generally applicable as rules of sociable behaviour, even as the miracles explicitly explore their ramifications for the Oxeia.

The first mechanism is the avoidance of shame, which is to say, public knowledge of one's flaws and misdeeds. The saint permits Stephanos not to seek remedy in the usual fashion, thus acknowledging that residents of the Oxeia should not be expected to seek a cure where their neighbours will see them. He also explicitly enjoins the burglary victim not to harm the thief, another resident of Oxeia. In practice, this means the victim reveals the thief's misdeeds only so far as necessary to ensure recompense.

The second mechanism is participation in extra-professional voluntary associations. The Blue Faction and the society of the all-night celebrants are both physically rooted in the Oxeia and affiliated to broader institutional structures: the demes to the court, and the society to the church.

The third mechanism is liberality with coin. Generosity is a general, Christian virtue, but in the Miracles, people are rewarded for buying local. Stephanos' cure is initiated when he pays twice and without complaint at a local merchant. The burglary victim is similarly ungrudging of his cash, dealing generously with his neighbours, even those who have robbed him.

These mechanisms structure "daily life" in the Oxeia: relations between and among its residents and those who pass through. They also have political effects beyond the neighbourhood. In the case of the burglary, avoidance of shame and liberality with coin guide the relationship of the neighbourhood to the state. It is not the urban prefect or his assistants who resolve the case on the basis of the law and a hearing of the evidence. Rather, the members of the neighbourhood resolve it on the basis of their local mechanisms. They do not delegate the resolution to the state apparatus, but use the state apparatus to their own ends, instrumentally. Similarly, the voluntary associations mediate between neighbourhood and state without directly engaging the civil or military hierarchies.

A large ethnographic literature contends that Mediterranean societies rely on concepts of honour and shame to regulate their affairs, while the specific nature of this reliance changes according to place, time, and settlement type. Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, in a review of this literature, draw a particular distinction between villages and cities. In the former, a family may be "indelibly dishonoured" by the actions of one member, producing "two camps of the honoured and the dishonoured or shamed." In the latter, by contrast, "all have been subjected to calls of 'shame' at some time or another."[62] The residents of the Oxeia pursued a third approach. They moderated the rigorist ("village") approach, not through banalization (invoking shame so often that it loses its sting), but through tact, recognizing that the community rarely benefits from exposure of its members' failings.[63]

Conclusion: two questions about medieval neighbourhoods

The beginning of this essay defined a neighbourhood as a "residential zone marked by face-to-face interactions and distinctive physical and social characteristics." According to these criteria, the Miracles of Artemios depict a seventh-century neighbourhood in and around the Oxeia. Face-to-face interactions occur between those who live side-by-side, between those who belong to the same voluntary associations, and between customers and merchants. The distinctive physical characteristics are geographical (the Oxeia as physical eminence) and architectural (the church of John, the Porticoes of Domninos, and the Baths of Dagistheos). The distinctive social characteristics are rendered legible as a set of rules, observed and promoted by Artemios, through which the neighbourhood regulates its affairs.

How did this neighbourhood emerge, and how did it continue to develop? A simple answer can be offered for the first question. The region's high residential density must have accelerated the process of neighbourhood formation. Residents of the Oxeia found ways to resolve their conflicts and maintain their public image without recourse to state authority. The bad reputation of the Zeugma may also have played a role, at least as a negative model. The seventh-century hilltop appears more respectable and less dangerous than the sixth-century shore. In place of the Zeugma's oppositional stance toward imperial authority, the Oxeia manifests a casual indifference to the absentee emperor.

The emperors did play a role in these processes, specifically by supplying certain benefactions. The earlier *thermae* leave little trace, but the Baths of Dagistheos endure. Anastasios may have been involved in the construction of the church of John. But even if he was, the seventh-century author of the miracles sees no need to mention it. The church functioned through contributions and volunteer labour, not an imperial endowment; it owed its fame to Artemios, not Anastasios.

Paul Magdalino has argued that "ancient culture … crystallised around a different set of nuclei" in the sixth century: a network of local service-providing centres anchored, but not exhausted, by churches.[64] The miracles of Artemios supply a vivid image of just such a nucleus: not only in its institutional (service-providing) aspect, but also in its moral, social, and economic dimensions. Magdalino imagines these nuclei to be the product of imperial agency: "in the sixth century… the emperors undertook, on a massive scale, the type of public benefaction that had previously been dependent on private initiative."[65] This account finds support in the accounts of imperial patrons provided in the panoptic compilations; for example, the *Patria*'s attribution of the construction of the church of John to Anastasios. This essay has sought, by contrast, to present a local view of an early medieval urban nucleus from which the emperors are strikingly absent.

How did the Oxeia develop after the seventh century? After the miracles, the evidence becomes scant. But we get a tantalizing indication from two tenth-century works of history: the *Chronographia* by the "continuators of Theophanes," and Genesios' *On the Reigns of the Emperors*. Both relate versions of a story about the origins of Theophobos, a general in the service of emperor Theophilos (829–842), thereby incidentally revealing a shared perception of the Oxeia.[66]

Genesios writes that some Persians came to Constantinople in search of the illegitimate son fathered by a Persian ambassador, a man of royal blood, while in town on business. They found the boy, Theophobos, "in the region of the Oxeia, which lay across and above the Bosphoros" and "discussions with his neighbours confirmed the truth of the identification."[67] So too the continuators of Theophanes, who add some detail and a moralizing gloss:

> And coming to our city [the ambassadors] finally found him with great pains living with his mother at Oxeia. And because the one they sought was revealed and made manifest not by just appearances but by the very marks of soul and body and, moreover, one of the neighbours bore witness to the woman's relation with the Persian – for there is no secret which will not become known to the multitude (οὐ γάρ τι κρυπτὸν ὃ τοῖς πολλοῖς οὐ γνωσθήσεται) –, those who had been dispatched made themselves known to the emperor and explained the matter, promising peace and tribute and the submission of all their people if only he would not refuse to give them Theophobos.[68]

The Oxeia is the kind of place where it is hard to keep a secret.

Taken in isolation, the historians' assumptions about neighbourhood life are unsurprising. Their Oxeia follows a rigorist model in which residents' moral failings are broadcast to local and stranger alike. It is a very different image from that in the miracles of Artemios. While the author of the miracles likely lived in Oxeia, the continuators of Theophanes and Genesios likely did not. Did the avoidance of shame break down between the seventh and tenth centuries? Do the historians illustrate it in the breach? Or do they simply not understand how things work in the Oxeia?

Notes

1 "Cas peut-être unique dans l'histoire, la nouvelle Rome a ses institutions avant même de constituer une réalité politique, sociale et économique, comme elle a ses remparts avant ses maisons, et ses maisons avant ses habitants." Gilbert Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale: Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1974), 9.
2 Michael E. Smith, "The Archaeological Study of Neighborhoods and Districts in Ancient Cities," *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 29 (2010): 137–154, here at 139–140.
3 Otto Seeck, ed., *Notitia dignitatum, accedunt Notitia urbis Constantinoplitanae, et Laterculi Prouinciarum* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1876), 229. For translation and commentary, see Albrecht Berger, "Regionen und Straßen im frühen Konstantinopel," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 47 (1997): 349–414; and John Mathews, "The *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*," in *Two Romes: Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity*, ed. Lucy Grig and Gavin Kelly (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 81–115.
4 Benjamin Anderson, "Social Clustering in 5th-c. Constantinople: The Evidence of the *Notitia*," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 29 (2016): 494–508.
5 Ibid., 503–504.
6 LSJ, s.v. ὀξύς.
7 Albrecht Berger, *Untersuchungen zu den* Patria Konstantinupoleos, Ποικίλα Βυζαντινά 8 (Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt, 1988), 458–459. Less precisely: R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine: Développement urbain et répertoire topographique*, Archives de l'Orient Chrétien 4A (Paris: Institut Français d'Études Byzantines, 1964), 400–401.
8 Mathews, "Notitia," 235.
9 Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis / Istanbul: Cultural Encounter, Imperial Vision, and the Construction of the Ottoman Capital* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009), 22–24 and 35–45.
10 Seeck, *Notitia*, 235.
11 R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire Byzantin. Première Partie: Le siège de Constantinople et le Patriarcat Oecuménique. Tome III: Les églises et les monastères* (Paris: Publications de l'Institut Français d'Études Byzantines, 1969), 22–25. Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 444–447.
12 Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 442–444; Berger, "Regionen," 365–366.
13 Berger, "Regionen," 365–366.
14 In addition to the *Notitia*, note testimonia collected in James Crow, Jonathan Bardill, and Richard Bayliss, *The Water Supply of Byzantine Constantinople*, Journal of Roman Studies Monograph No. 11 (London: The Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 2008), 224–226.
15 Crow *et al.*, *Water Supply*, 118–121.
16 Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 439–442.
17 Chronicon Paschale 618: τὸ δημόσιον λουτρόν… το ἐν τοῖς Δαγισθαίου. Cf. Malalas 435: τὸ δημόσιον τὸ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει… τὸ ἐπίκλην Δαγισθέου.
18 *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, ed. Hippolyte Delehaye, Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris (Brussels: Societas Bollandiana, 1902), 152–153.
19 *Patria* III.51: Albrecht Berger, ed. and trans., *Accounts of Medieval Constantinople: The* Patria, Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library 24 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013), 168–169.
20 Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 458–459.
21 For the extensive contemporary documentation of Artemios' career, see Samuel N. C. Lieu and Dominic Montserrat, *From Constantine to Julian: Pagan and Byzantine Views* (London: Routledge, 1996), 213–216.

22 "Passio Magni Martyris Artemii," in *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, vol. V, *Opera homiletica et hagiographica*, ed. P. Bonifatius Kotter, Patristische Texte und Studien 29 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1988), 185–245; transfer of relics at 241–242. English translation by Mark Vermes in Lieu and Montserrat, *From Constantine*, 224–256; transfer of relics at 253.

23 *Synaxarium*, ed. Delehaye, 152–153; *Le Synaxaire arménien de Ter Israel. I. Mois de Navasard*, ed. and trans. G. Bayan, Patrologia Orientalis 5 (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1910), 406.

24 Albert Duforcq, *Études sur les Gesta martyrum romains. Tome V: Les légendes grecques et les légendes latines* (Paris: De Boccard, 1988), 183–190.

25 On the latrines, see Virgil S. Crisafulli and John W. Nesbitt, *The Miracles of St. Artemios: A Collection of Miracle Stories by an Anonymous Author of Seventh-Century Byzantium* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 11–12.

26 Miracle 41: Crisafulli and Nesbitt, *Miracles*, 164–165 (text and translation).

27 See the review by Vincent Déroche, who is preparing a critical edition, of Crisafulli and Nesbitt, *Miracles*, in *Revue des Études Byzantines* 56 (1998): 286–289. For the manuscript (Messina, University Library, Cod. 30, ff. 76r-96v; copied ca. 1307) and its source (the *scriptio inferior* of Cod. 37 in the same library), see Maria Bianca Foti, "Daniele scriba del SS. Salvatore *in lingua phari*: un epigono dei traslitteratori," *Codices manuscripti* 9 (1983): 128–132.

28 In the following, the miracles are cited with reference to this publication, and with the miracle number given in parentheses.

29 Nesbitt and Crisafulli, *Miracles*, 7–8, for the traditional view. Arguing for interpolation post-680: John Haldon, "The Miracles of Artemios and Contemporary Attitudes: Context and Significance," in Nesbitt and Crisafulli, *Miracles*, 33–73; here at 33–35. The following account focuses on the miracles' urban and social *realia*, which no commentator holds to be interpolated.

30 Soo too Stephanos Efthymiadis, "A Day and Ten Months in the Life of a Lonely Bachelor: The Other Byzantium in *Miracula S. Artemii* 18 and 22," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 58 (2004): 1–26, here at 21.

31 A careful reading of the secondary literature reveals confusion among Byzantinists regarding the nature of hernia.

32 The primary exception, considered at length below, is miracle 18, whose hero does however follow the usual pattern in miracle 22. In miracle 34, Artemios heals a 12-year-old girl who frequented his shrine of plague.

33 Miracle 24, for cure and oratory. For the feast, *Synaxarium*, ed. Delehaye, 769–772.

34 Other remote cures include miracle 5 (a sailor leaving Constantinople and docked at Hebdomon is cured in a dream, and returns to the shrine to give thanks); miracle 9 (a Rhodian visits the shrine, but is only cured once back home); miracle 13 (a sailor waits at the shrine for 30 days, and is cured while sailing away through the Dardanelles).

35 Exceptions, in which no visit to the church is mentioned: miracle 11 (a mother lights her votive lamp in a Constantinopolitan bath, thus curing her son); miracle 16 (a granary guard cannot leave his post, so prays to the saint and is healed in a dream). Parents serve as proxies in miracle 4 (an African burns a votive lamp at the shrine and brings the residue back to his son, who had already been cured at the moment of first lighting); miracle 10 (a mother's repeated visits to the shrine effect her son's cure); and miracle 28 (a mother prays at the shrine for her son's cure).

36 Anne P. Alwis, "Men in Pain: Masculinity, Medicine and the *Miracles* of St. Artemios," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 36 (2012): 1–19.

37 Haldon, "Miracles," 37.

38 For different approaches to their "realism," compare Nesbitt and Crisafulli, *Miracles*, 27; and Efthymiadis, "A Day," 25.
39 Most notably the mocking Alexandrian actor in miracle 17.
40 Here I depart from the interpretation of Efthymiadis, "A Day," who perceives in miracle 18 in particular (on which more below) a kind of "social criticism" (17) directed against a "contemporary society that gave no shelter to an individual who lived apart from family and other protective bonds" (19).
41 For toponyms with the form τα plus a proper name in the genitive, see the contribution by Albrecht Berger to this volume.
42 Accepting Janin's identification of this church with Panteleemon in the Narsou and his localization of that church on the Golden Horn: *Géographie ecclesiastique*, 387–388. Differently, Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 503; but the proximity of this church to that of John in the miracles argues against a position to the south of the Tauros, as does the topographic recension of the *Patria*.
43 Efthymiadis, "A Day," 9.
44 Geoffrey Greatrex, "The Nika Riot: A Reappraisal," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 117 (1997): 60–86, here at 84–86.
45 J. F. Haldon, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century: The Transformation of a Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 60–61.
46 "Then as now a district of artisans and shopkeepers": Cyril Mango, "On the History of the *Templon* and the Martyrion of St. Artemios at Constantinople," *Zograf* 10 (1979): 40–43. Michel Kaplan and Eleonora Kountoura-Galaki note that the diversity of trades practised by the residents of the Oxeia give the lie to the idea of neighbourhoods devoted to specific trades: "Economy and Society in Byzantine Hagiography: *Realia* and Methodological Questions," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography, Volume II: Genres and Contexts*, ed. Stephanos Efthymiadis (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 390–418, here at 398. See further Fotini Kondyli's contribution to this volume.
47 As noted by Vincent Déroche, "Pourquoi écrivait-on des recueils de miracles? L'exemple de Saint Artémios," in *Les saints et leur sanctuaire à Byzance: Textes, images et monuments*, ed. Catherine Jolivet-Lévy, Michel Kaplan, and Jean-Pierre Sodini, Byzantina Sorbonensia 11 (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1993), 95–116, here at 100. The most prominent staff of the church of John are not clergy, but wardens (*prosmonarioi*): see miracles 15 and 30.
48 For example, he appears as a "nobleman of the palace" (11), as a patrician (15), as a "man of rank in civilian clothes" (18), as one of the illustrioi (29), as a senator (37 and 39).
49 On the latter, for example, Mango, "History of the Templon," 41: "in Byzantine iconography the Saint is normally portrayed as a warrior…. not as a physician."
50 It is harder still to work out the logic of miracles 25 (Artemios as butcher) and 32 (Artemios as deacon).
51 For Artemios as patron, see Déroche, "Porquoi écrivait-on des recueils," 107–108.
52 The reported speech is interrupted only once: "for at that time, he said, I was staying in the Oxeia."
53 Wicks? Holders? See Crisafulli and Nesbitt, *Miracles*, 260.
54 *Patria* III.41. On the connection between the church of Anastasia and the Blues, see Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 447.
55 Short walk: on June 24 (miracle 18), the man wakes up at the seventh hour, walks to the church of John, and engages in an extended series of conversations, with the result that, in the eighth hour, the thieves return in the custody of the *kommentaresios*. The walk must have taken five or ten minutes.
56 *Synaxarium*, ed. Delehaye, 769–772.

57 In reality, two oaths, of which Paul Speck understands the second as an interpolation (to my mind without compelling arguments): "Der Eid beim Bild des Heiligen Johannes: Zu den *Miracula Sancti Artemii*, Nummer 18," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 51 (2001): 159–167.

58 The *sekretarios* does not lie intentionally; this is the story he has from the thieves, and it is a plausible one. Weddings would have been rife during the summer festival, and Theodosios has the list in the man's handwriting. The brothers have admitted to a crime, but a much lesser one than breaking and entering.

59 Clearly, he does have clothes – he did not conduct his investigations naked – but is ashamed either to appear at the celebration in an everyday outfit, or in clothes dirtied from the previous night's vigil. For the second option, Speck, "Eid," 162–163.

60 LBG, s.v. περιβωμίζω: "in einer Spottprozession herumführen."

61 Additional evidence for seventh-century confraternities collected by Gilbert Dagron, "L'Église et la chrétienté byzantines entre les invasions et l'iconoclasme (VIIe-début VIIIe siècle)," in *Évêques, moines et empereurs (610–1054)*, ed. Gilbert Dagron, Pierre Riché, and André Vauchez, Histoire du Christianisme 4 (Lonrai: Desclée, 1993), 9–91, here at 37–38.

62 Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), 488–523; quotes at 491 and 501.

63 Averil Cameron highlights the need to study "how far the anthropological concepts of honour and shame perceived in Greek mountain society and elsewhere also applied during the long centuries of Christian Byzantium." "Thinking with Byzantium," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Sixth Series, 21 (2011): 39–57, here at 53–54.

64 Paul Magdalino, *Studies on the History and Topography of Byzantine Constantinople* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 54.

65 Ibid.

66 On this story ("Version A" of the tale of Theophobos), see Juan Signes Codoñer, *The Emperor Theophilos and the East, 829–842: Court and Frontier during the Last Phase of Iconoclasm*, Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Studies 13 (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 153–161.

67 *Iosephi Genesii Regum libri quattuor*, ed. A. Lesmüller-Werner and I. Thurn, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 14 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1978), 37–38; English translation by Anthony Kaldellis, *Genesios: On the Reigns of the Emperors*, Byzantina Australiensia 11 (Canberra: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 1998), 51.

68 Michael Featherstone and Juan Signes Codoñer, ed. and trans., *Chronographiae quae Theophanis Continuati nomine fertur, Libri I-IV*, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 53 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), 158–161.

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7 Gortyn, Eleutherna, and their neighbourhoods

The politics of transformation (fourth to early ninth centuries)

Christina Tsigonaki

Introduction

The quest for neighbourhoods in Byzantine cities by archaeological means presupposes the ability to identify intangible social bonds and interaction on a micro-scale through the study of the urban topography and material remains, for it is these features that connect the residents of a neighbourhood. The difficulty of this endeavour explains why, even though the archaeology of Byzantine urban centres has made great progress over the last two decades, research focusing on neighbourhoods remains still at an embryonic stage. The recent article of Paul Magdalino about the Byzantine neighbourhoods of Constantinople is the first that seeks to identify how the concept of proximity and association, the concept of γειτονία, is translated and made manifest in the Byzantine urban fabric.[1]

In contemporary terminology borrowed from anthropological studies, "neighbourhood" and "district" are the two fundamental levels of a residential zone. These are defined by Michael Smith as follows: "A neighbourhood is a small area of frequent face to face interaction. A district is a larger zone with administrative or social significance within the city." Different potential correlations among neighbourhoods and districts in preindustrial cities resulted in different urban spatial models.[2]

In the praise of Antioch composed in 356 by Libanius, one can detect the spatial organization of the metropolis: a combination of the sector and multiple nuclei model,[3] with an extensive peri-urban zone. The palace quarter was isolated in the "new city," founded on a fortified islet in the river Orontes. The agora in the "old town" is described as the heart of political, cultural, and commercial life. However, both the centre and the outskirts of the city were equally flourishing: goods "are so widely distributed over the whole city that no one part of the city can be called the market area, and purchasers need not go to one special place."[4] The multi-cored organization of the city is revealed in one more passage: "long stretches of private houses, and everywhere mingled among them public buildings, temples or baths sufficiently far apart so as to allow the nearby quarter (μοίρα) of the city to make use of them."[5] Moreover, "every quarter (φυλή) of the city has a

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profusion of private baths"; "there is much competition among people in the neighbourhood (φυλέτες) that each of them should be the possessor of the most beautiful of them."[6] The abundant fountains, gardens, luxurious bathhouses, and villas are highlighted as the distinct markers of the borough's beauty; well-reputed Daphne was prominent among these. The suburbs in this passage are paralleled with *phylae*: "you will not think it proper to call them inns, but quarters of a city (φυλάς πόλεως), and of this city alone."[7]

In Libanius' text, citizens are divided between the members of the curia and those of the demos, between rich and poor. Beyond this political and class distinction, there is no other clue as to any ethnic or religious distinction. On the contrary, the multi-ethnic nature of Antioch's citizens is praised by the orator as yet another asset, while religious differences between the local peoples, Christians, or Jews are simply not mentioned. Among the citizens of each *moira* or of each *phyle*, there existed only friendly rivalries.[8] In the effort to project the harmonious coexistence of the citizens, all the natural, topographical, and anthropogenic boundaries are brushed aside. The isolation of the walled new city on the island is lessened through bridges, which connect it with the old city. Roads with roofed stoas run through the old city, outlining, but primarily uniting, the different districts, and so facilitating communication among citizens.

Libanius' Antioch appears to be an ideal city for its citizens, but it is not ideal for archaeologists, who attempt in vain to reconcile social bonds with spatial entities. The exact meaning of the terms *moira* and *phyle* in this text has evaded modern researchers; hence the divergences in their interpretations in different translations of the *Antiochikos*. Libanius distinguishes five *moires*, which seem to correspond neither to districts nor to administrative units, but to a geographical division. Moreover, Antioch in 387 had 18 *phylae*.[9] Catherine Saliou interprets the term *phyle* not only as an administrative subdivision of the urban space but also as a framework for organizing the population and constructing collective identities. Later sources, including the chronicle of Malalas and the *Vita* of Simeon Stylites the Younger, refer to the neighbourhoods of Antioch, which should also be interpreted as subdivisions of the urban space. The names of seven of them are known (γιτωνία Μυγδωνιτῶν, γιτωνία Ἰοβιτῶν, γιτωνία Ἀγριππιτῶν, Ὀστρακίνη, Σκεπίνη, Ἀπάτη, γιτωνία τῶν Κερατaίων). According to Saliou, the term *geitonia* has the same meaning as the term *phyle* in the work of Libanius. The ritual fights between the residents of each *phyle* at the suburban sanctuary of Artemis of Meroe,[10] as well as the rivalries for the baths of each *phyle*, indicate that *phylae* were reference points of collective identities. In this context, the bathhouses play an important role as physical centres to which community identities were anchored.[11]

In Byzantine written sources, the narrated events that take place in urban space often include specific topographical references, even though – once again – it is not always certain if the author is referring to neighbourhoods or districts. A passage from the *Book of Pontiffs* of the Church of Ravenna, written in approximately 840 by Agnellus, mentions: “Then one day … John the abbot of the monasterium of St. Donatus, which is called *in Monterione*, outside the gate of St. Laurence next to *Wandalaria*, not far from the monasterium of St. Mary which is called *ad Blachernas* (where God willing I am abbot), fell forward to the ground.”[12] More relevant for our subject is an event that took place in ca. 705–709 and is narrated in detail by Agnellus. This incident has been recently commented upon thoroughly by Judith Herrin.[13] According to an old custom, the inhabitants of Ravenna, regardless of age and social status, met every Sunday outside the city walls and engaged in regular fights. One Sunday, however, the situation got out of control, as the fight between the inhabitants of the Teguriensan Gate against those of the gate (*posterula* in Latin) described as “*Summus Vicus*, next to *fossa Lamisem*” resulted in a bloodbath and the humiliation of the Posterulans. To celebrate their victory, the Teguriensans broke the bolts and bars of their opponents’ gate. The following Sunday, the Posterulan men sought revenge in the Ursiana church by inviting the Teguriensans to lunch and ultimately killing them and burying their bodies in utter secrecy.

Herrin interprets Ravenna’s old custom of stylized fighting as an extension of Late Antique urban faction fighting and also as a forerunner of sporting rivalries known from other Italian medieval cities.[14] Agnellus’ narrative proves, in my opinion, the existence of neighbourhoods not only in topographical terms but also in social terms. The Posterulans and Teguriensans inhabited two neighbouring districts, separated by one of the many canals that were the physical landmarks of the districts. They met on Sundays either outside the city walls, where they fought make-believe battles, or in the Ursiana church, the cathedral, where they peacefully attended mass. The narrative gives no indication of the age, sex, national, or religious identity of the people involved. In fact, it appears that they were responsible for the protection of the gate near which they lived. The collective feeling of humiliation, which overtook the Posterulans when their gate was violated, led them to conspiracy and collective crime. Their punishment was also collective: it culminated in the levelling of the entire area of the said Posterula.

To sum up: the Posterulans and the Teguriensans were citizens of Ravenna, members of two communities with close, intimate social bonds and kinship ties – in social terms, they were the inhabitants of two distinct neighbourhoods. In eighth-century Ravenna, it was the gates of the fortification – and not the bathhouses as in Antioch in the fourth century – that were the anchor points of community identity.

These two cities, Antioch and Ravenna, set in different chronological and geographical contexts, presented different structures of urban organization and different mechanisms of constructing social bonds and memory. However, when observing cityscape developments from Late Antiquity to the early medieval period, one can hardly disagree with Bryan Ward-Perkins who aptly remarks: “Describing the cities of the empire is like describing a moving target made up of different parts, all travelling in roughly the same direction, but at very different speeds and with different individual trajectories."[15] Is the formation and appearance of neighbourhoods in Byzantine cities part of this same process? And who were the agents responsible for the varying trajectories? I will attempt to answer these questions through the study of two cities in Crete: Gortyn and Eleutherna.

The Cretan context

Crete was one of the most urbanized islands of the Empire, having at the same time a densely populated countryside (Figure 7.1).[16] A prolonged floruit, revealed by different aspects of social and urban life, was disturbed around the mid-seventh century. The conquest of Alexandria in 642 marks a radical change in geopolitical relations, rendering Crete the southernmost boundary of the Empire in the Eastern Mediterranean.[17] The island was eventually taken by the Arabs around 824 and returned to Byzantine authority only in 961.

Gortyn and Eleutherna are two Cretan cities with completely contrasting features. Gortyn, in the centre of the Messara, the largest plain on the island, was the capital and metropolitan seat. Eleutherna, a small, semi-mountainous city in central Crete, was last in the hierarchy of Cretan bishoprics. Their common characteristic is that they were both inhabited for many centuries and present a complex archaeological signature, as revealed by the systematic excavations carried out by the Italian Archaeological School at Gortyn and by the University of Crete at Eleutherna. Even though the focus of these excavations was not the Byzantine period, the Byzantine remains were not ignored; on the contrary, they were fully excavated and continue to be studied with modern methods. Devastating earthquakes, the progress of Christianization, the social, political, and economic transitions in the seventh and eighth centuries, and their impact on the life and spatial

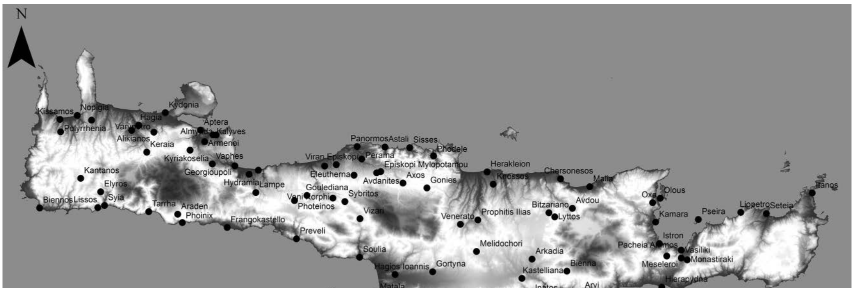

Figure 7.1 Early Byzantine Crete: cities and important settlements. © Christina Tsigonaki, GeoSat ReSeArch Lab / IMS-FORTH.

organization of both cities, can all be studied in the light of new research approaches. One such approach is the study of neighbourhoods, which, as will be shown below, allows a clearer insight into the daily life of their inhabitants beyond narratives of decline and collapse.

Gortyn

Gortyn occupies the northwest part of the Messara Plain. Low hills delimit the city to the north (Agios Ioannis, Pervolopetra, Armi, Profitis Ilias). The Mitropolianos River flows down between the two westernmost hills, whence it continues toward the south, crosses the plain, and acts as the western limit of the city (Figure 7.2).[18] Religious toponyms mentioned in written sources, such as "Latosion" and "Hermaion," may reflect the original organization, which consisted of several *komai* established around sacred precincts. The most important of these developed around the sanctuary of Apollo Pythios. This area constituted the city's centre for centuries, as

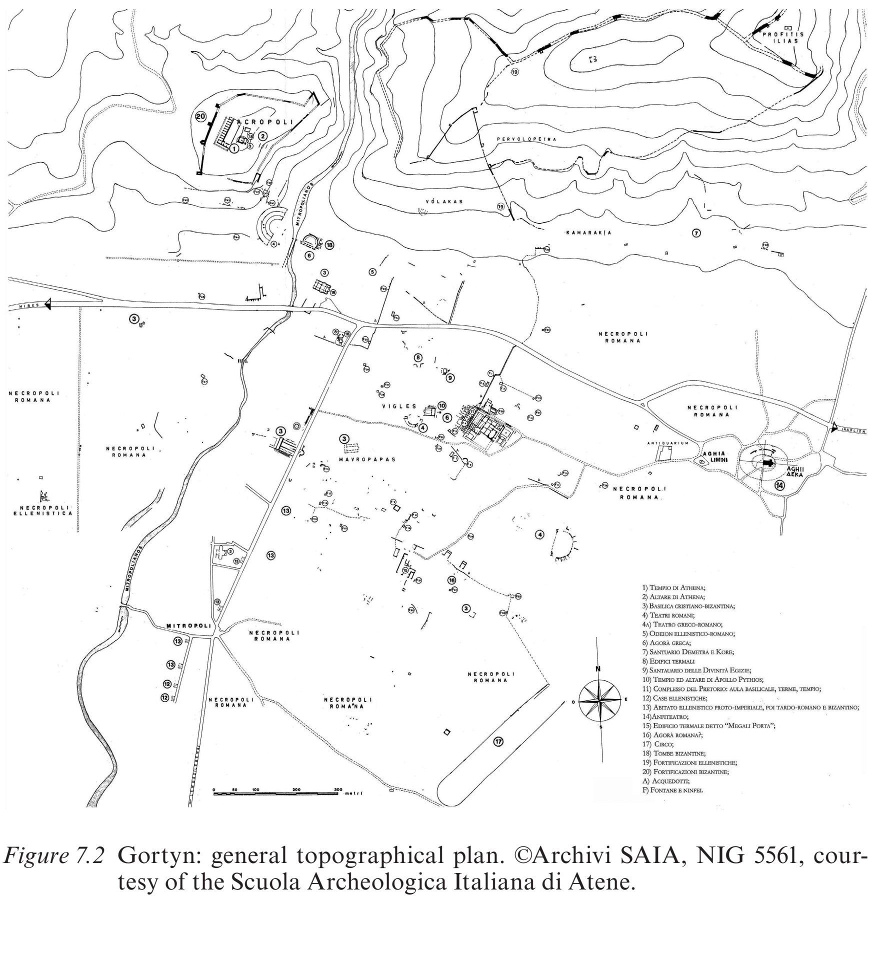

Figure 7.2 Gortyn: general topographical plan. ©Archivi SAIA, NIG 5561, courtesy of the Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene.

evidenced by Stephanos Byzantios' entry on the Pythion, which he describes as the long-lasting centre of Gortyn in Crete (τὸ πάλαι μεσαίτατον τῆς ἐν Κρήτῃ Γόρτυνος).[19] According to Antonino Di Vita, the district called Hermaion, attested by an inscription of the imperial era, should be sought on the slopes of the northern hills, east of the Mitropolianos River; the Latosion district should be placed a few hundred metres south of Pythion, today the site of Mavropapas.[20] The sixth-century *Passio* of the Ten Martyrs (*BHG* 1196) implies that the same toponym was used for centuries: five of the ten martyrs who were beheaded in Gortyn's amphitheatre during Decius' persecution (AD 250) were originally from the city's upper district, the so-called Hermaion (ἐκ τοῦ ἀνωτέρου μέρους τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως τοῦ λεγομένου Ἑρμαίου). The execution took place in a suburb, the one still called Alonion (τὸ καλούμενον μέχρι τοῦ νῦν Ἀλώνιον - ἀνωτέρω δὲ τοῦτο μικρὸν τυγχάνει τῆς πόλεως), as noted by the author of the *passio*.[21]

At its acme, in the second to third centuries AD, Gortyn occupied an area of approximately 400 hectares. The year AD 365 represents a hiatus in the city's history when it was struck by the massive earthquake that shook the entire Eastern Mediterranean. However, thanks to imperial donations and the concern of local officials the city soon recovered. Gortyn has all the features of a cosmopolitan metropolis: it was directly connected with the central administration but also had powerful institutions of self-government; it had a monumental appearance regularly renewed, impressive infrastructure, such as its water supply system, and entertainment centres, such as the hippodrome, amphitheatre, theatres, odeia, and splendid bathhouses. The city's population, renewed through migration, supported different factions in the hippodrome and worshipped different gods. The gradual introduction of magnificent churches and cemeteries into the pre-existing urban fabric demonstrates the penetration of Christianity in the city and, more importantly, in the souls of its inhabitants.

Other than the Mitropolianos River, Gortyn lacks boundaries, natural or man-made, that might define specific areas within its territory. The absence of a fortification wall around the city's lower districts in the plain is inexplicable, given the city's official status. One might ask if this is not an oversight of modern scholarship, and a topic that deserves greater future research.[22] In my effort to identify Gortynian districts and neighbourhoods, I will examine the water supply system, baths, churches, and cemeteries as proxies for neighbourhoods. Access to facilities and proximity to religious spaces could reveal physical and social entities within the urban fabric. I will also discuss the Praetorium and the Acropolis districts separately, as they constitute distinct poles of different forms of power within the city.

Water and baths

A free-standing arcaded wall, as recorded by Joseph Pitton de Tournefort back in 1700, was, in fact, part of the Gortynian aqueduct; its remains currently stand among the olive trees in the plain. The aboveground branches of the aqueduct, which traversed the urban fabric while transporting water to fountains and nymphaea, ran parallel to and along the city's major streets, linking the districts of the city and at the same time carving up the urban frame.[23] Archaeological research has corroborated the existence of a sophisticated water supply system, which provided water to the city from its construction during the Roman period through to the Early Byzantine period. Three principal branches, which crossed the city from north to south, and multiple east-west secondary branches extend from the Acropolis in the north to the baths of Megali Porta in the south and the hippodrome in the southeast.[24] This water network also included a large number of basins, fountains, and storage tanks of varying capacities.

Di Vita dates the ambitious plan of water distribution to the last years of Justinian's reign. He argues that cistern-fountains proliferated in the *asty* after the earthquake that hit the city in 618.[25] According to Elisabetta Giorgi, the aqueduct's last building phase dates to the period from the second half of the sixth and the first decades of the seventh century. She argued "that the second half of the sixth century is the most likely period in which to imagine a complete restoration of the aqueduct on this scale, promoted and supported by a public authority (urban, provincial or episcopal), with possible links to the highest ranks of the state administration."[26]

Two epigraphical testimonies are related to the water supply of the city. The first, dated between the fourth and fifth centuries, mentions the most illustrious Herennianus as the builder of the new line of the aqueduct.[27] The second, known unfortunately only from old transcriptions and drawings, refers to the refurbishment of the water supply system: a certain Georgios, "who runs forth to show his piety," contributed to the water supply of the city, which was thoroughly parched.[28] Georgios, obviously a wealthy benefactor, is probably upholding the tradition of private munificence in maintaining the water supply, even if his motive was to provide water not for luxury, but for drinking. In this broad sense, his act of euergetism (voluntary euergetism or euergetism *ob honorem*?) can be set within the defining framework of the new Christian ideology.[29]

Water tanks and fountains were a distinguishing feature in the urban fabric of Early Byzantine Gortyn: 51 cistern-fountains have been so far recorded in an area of approximately 80 hectares; six preserve elaborate decoration on the façade with niches decorated with geometric brick patterns; four of these are located along the aqueduct branch C that cuts across the monumental city centre. [30] Mario Pagano and Di Vita both dated these fountains to the period of Emperor Herakleios.[31] Their common morphological features confirm that they were constructed at the same time, as part of a major redesign of the water supply. Giorgi distinguished four large urban clusters on the basis of their spatial distribution: (1) The south-eastern slopes of the Acropolis (outside the fortification enclosure); (2) the area to the east of the so-called church of Saint Titus (branch A); (3) the Praetorium district and the zone south of it (branch C); (4) the area of the baths at Megali Porta. In addition to these four areas, fountains were also identified in areas located at a greater distance from the city centre, to the south.[32] Oddly enough, there are no fountains in the western part of the city, where churches have been located. No fountains have been identified, for instance, near the Basilica of the Metropolis and the Basilica of Mavropapa, nor at the so-called Saint Titus, or at the Triconch of the Metropolis. Perhaps the neighbourhoods of the western section were fed by water from the river. Moreover, the needs of the so-called Saint Titus and of the Basilica of the Metropolis were surely served by the large cisterns located nearby.[33]

Fountains were points of daily interaction among neighbours. Speaking of the fountains of Antioch, Libanius preserves an eloquent picture of the daily life of its inhabitants: "we have no free fights around our public fountains, as to who will draw water before his neighbour, which is a nuisance to many a wealthy town." For all have fountains in their houses, "and the public ones are for show."[34] The distinction between private and public fountains is of particular importance. Access to amenities and facilities could reveal intraurban inequality.[35] According to Giorgi, the water supply system in Gortyn of the mid-sixth century was designed to reach people where they lived, in contrast to the late seventh and eighth centuries, when people moved to points where water was available. She points out that one of the fountains west of the Praetorium complex is located inside an open space that seems to be private. According to her interpretation of the excavation data, a privatization of water resources by the local elites (*possessores* or *potentiores*) was underway at a time when urban space was beginning to decay (late seventh-early eighth centuries).[36] Since nothing is known about the economic side of water management in Gortyn, it is difficult to verify this interesting hypothesis.[37] Even if it was indeed a case of the privatization of public water, water-related legislation reveals that the illegal use of water by different social groups is a timeless phenomenon.[38]

Connected to the aqueduct was the small bath complex, south of the Praetorium (*terme a Sud del Pretorio*). According to recent excavations by the University of Milan, the bath was built between the second half of the fourth century and the beginning of the fifth century. Major reconstructions were undertaken during the late Justinianic period. In this second building phase, the water supply was secured by connecting it to a secondary branch of line C. A round pool was made at the centre of the *frigidarium*. The reconstruction of the *frigidarium* floor also dates to the same phase: the excavators note the striking affinities of the *sectilia* floors with those of the great Basilica of the Metropolis. The bath complex underwent further reconstruction in the late sixth or early decades of the seventh centuries and appears to have been destroyed between the end of the seventh and the first decades of the eighth centuries.[39] This bathhouse is one of the two small-sized bathing complexes discovered in Gortyn. The second (*le piccole terme*) is located southeast of the so-called church of Saint Titus. Its erection is placed after the earthquake of 365 AD and its operation is documented until the end of the sixth century.[40] Because of their limited size, the small bathhouses of Gortyn have been classified as private baths, comparable perhaps to the private baths of Antioch in the fourth century, which, according to Libanius, were a reference point in their neighbourhoods and a cause for competition among the inhabitants. The small bathhouses of Gortyn could also be seen as reference points for different neighbourhoods in the city.

For the centuries immediately following, the sources point to another reality: apart from privately owned or commercially run establishments, the baths of the Early Byzantine period have been associated with Christian charitable associations known as *diakoniai.* The role of Egyptian monasticism and the great ecclesiastical centres of Palestine has been recognized in the consolidation and gradual spread of the institution of *diakonia* in all the provinces of the empire. The written sources, as well as the seals, reveal the multifaceted social and economic role of the *diakonia*. A *diakonia* could incorporate a hospice and could also be a part of a monastery. In the latter case the monastery provided the monks or *diakonitae* who served in the *diakonia*.[41] The distribution of food to the poor, fed by the regular income of an endowment, was the main function of a *diakonia*. In addition, maintenance of a ritual bath for the poor (λοῦσμα) was a pivotal activity of a *diakonia*, for which reason it was associated with a bathhouse.

Bryan Ward-Perkins considers that the bathhouses in Italian cities were either entirely privately owned by the ruling classes or else were ecclesiastical public baths, which were used by small groups of the population, the clergy, and the poor in need of charity.[42] The conclusion reached by Paul Magdalino for the baths of Constantinople differs slightly. He believes that in the new capital, public baths owned by the church substituted for the old-style thermae. Baths were attached to pious foundations, but the same baths could provide both charitable and commercial services, assisting a much larger proportion of the population.[43] If the baths of the *diakoniai* replaced the old-style private baths, it is worth asking whether the *diakoniai* become *the* distinctive feature of a given neighbourhood, as was the case for the private baths in older times. The evolution of the institution of *diakonia* in medieval Rome seems to reinforce this hypothesis.[44]

Identifying the architectural remains of the *diakonia* is not an easy task. Older buildings are often used, both in the city centre and on the outskirts. Moreover, the archaeological context will certainly differ depending on whether the *diakonia* depends on laypeople, monasteries, or dioceses. Jerash offers one of the few examples of a *diakonia* in the eastern provinces, documented epigraphically and accurately dated to 565. In the heart of the city, it took over earlier buildings and the atrium of the "Propylaea basilica." The text of the inscription found in the circular chamber can be interpreted as a reference to the psalms that resounded in the city from the processions of the poor on their way to the baths.[45]

The small complex south of the Praetorium at Gortyn (*terme a Sud del Pretorio*) could be such a *diakonia* bath. This idea is supported by the architectural layout of the premises and, in particular, the round pool in the *frigidarium* that resembles a font. The Basilica of Mavropapa is the closest church to this bath. This building, which was excavated at the end of the nineteenth century and unfortunately is not visible today, lay about 200 metres to the west and probably on the same axis as the small bath complex. An interesting find from the basilica of Mavropapa is a pithos with the engraved inscription *Apa Kyris* (or Father Kyris), a term which refers to Egyptian monasticism, as rightly pointed out by Isabella Baldini.[46] A question to be answered by future excavations is whether the basilica of Mavropapa was part of a monastery complex.

Evidence for the existence of at least one *diakonia* in Gortyn is offered by the *Vita* of Saint Andreas by the *patrikios* and *kyestor* Niketas (*BHG* 113), which probably dates to the second half of the eighth century, and is, therefore, very close to the events it narrates. Andreas, a Greek-speaking Syrian monk, is a typical example of an educated refugee who climbed the ecclesiastical hierarchy. He was appointed metropolitan of Crete in Constantinople in approximately 710 and died in 740.[47] His *Vita* informs us about the charitable work he performed in Gortyn during his office. This includes the creation of a hospice for the sick and the poor, the so-called Xenon. Moreover, Andreas built a *diakonia* (καὶ διακονίαν ὡς πτωχός τῷ πνεύματι, τοῖς πτωχοῖς διακονῶν κατεσκεύασε) at his own expense.[48] The interpretation of the term *diakonia* here is ambiguous: it may refer either to the action of a charity or to a charitable institution. I am inclined towards the second reading. After all, during his stay in Constantinople, Andreas was responsible for the administration of two venerable institutions, the great Orphanage and the nearby *diakonia* at Eugeniou, and managed to "feed the poor with an undiminished supply of bread."[49] None of the philanthropic institutions mentioned in Andreas' *Vita* have been identified in Gortyn. The same applies to the church which, according to his *Vita*, he built in Gortyn and dedicated to the Virgin of Blachernae, in which he installed hieromonks (Βλαχέρνας τόν τοιοῦτον παρ' αὐτοῦ οἰκοδομηθένα ναὸν ὀνομάσας, ἱερεῖς λειτουργούς ἐκ τοῦ μοναχικοῦ σχήματος ἐν αὐτῷ …ἐγκαταστήσας).[50]

Churches and cemeteries

Three important churches were located on the western fringe of the urban space, close to the Mitropolianos River (Figure 7.2). The most impressive of all, the five-aisled Basilica of the Metropolis with its baptistery, rightly identified as Gortyn's metropolitan church, was built in an area far from the Pythion and Praetorium, where the heart of the city beat for centuries. The so-called Church of Saint Titus was erected at the north edge of the western sector, near the site of the ancient civic Agora. The Triconch of the Metropolis is located at the south end of the western sector. The Basilica of Mavropapa was placed 200 metres west of the Metropolis baptistery, on the same road that, as mentioned above, led to the small bath south of the Praetorium. One more basilica, which has not been excavated, lies in the city's southeast sector, near the baths at Megali Porta.[51] Most of these churches experienced more than one building phase, but neither the initial phase of construction nor the date of abandonment has been precisely defined. As with most of the buildings of Gortyn, the latter point is now shifting to around the end of the eighth century.

The areas around the churches of Gortyn are generally referred to by the Italian excavators as the city's Christian neighbourhoods, thus reproducing the widespread view that churches correspond to neighbourhoods. This may be true of the parish churches of the Middle Byzantine and Late Byzantine times, as the names of the neighbourhoods betray,[52] but this is not self-evident for the churches of the Early Byzantine cities. In the early period, spaces away from the centre were chosen for the erection of the devotional buildings of the new religion to avoid tensions between adherents of Christianity and the pagan elite of the city.[53] A century later, when anti-pagan measures were intensified, churches even at peripheral locations in the city seemed to function as symbolic neighbourhood boundaries that had a Christian identity. This is revealed by the narrative of the upheavals that erupted in 408 in Calama (Guelma, Algeria), when pagans crossed over the acceptable physical limits during a festival parade.[54]

The churches of Gortyn, although erected in remote locations, probably functioned as the new nuclei for residential development. Residences dated between the fourth to fifth and the end of the seventh centuries were found south of the Metropolis basilica.[55] A neighbourhood most certainly developed in close proximity to the so-called Church of Saint Titus: north of the church the area of the ancient Agora was occupied by houses, whereas the neighbouring area of the Odeon was converted into a cemetery.[56] Similarly, the neighbourhood near the basilica in the southeast of the city with houses of the sixth and, especially, the seventh centuries developed in the place of the baths at Megali Porta, the city's most important bath-complex in Hadrian's time.[57]

The change in the use of public spaces in the Roman period when they fell into disuse is usually interpreted as a sign of the demise of ancient urban civilization. This interpretation is especially common when Christian cemeteries are formed in the ruins of earlier public buildings. One such case is the cemetery developed in and around the small bath complex, *le piccole terme*, which remained operational until the sixth century. Tombs were dug into the destruction layer inside and around the bathhouse in the seventh and eighth centuries. According to anthropological study, the deceased belonged to family groups. The tombs were oriented east-west, and the heads placed to the west, an indication that the deceased were Christians. There is no indication of an associated church or of the houses where these people dwelt. Paradoxically, pottery workshops were identified among the tombs in the same stratigraphic horizon.[58]

The development of small Christian cemeteries within and not outside of the city has been interpreted by Di Vita as an indication of dispersed habitation nuclei within a disintegrating urban fabric. However, in my opinion, these nuclei constitute beyond doubt the neighbourhoods of a city undergoing Christianization. The introduction of burials within the city fabric is one of the most important changes brought about by Christianity; it represents above all a change in the use of space imposed by new needs in the organization of urban space, to accord with the demands of the new religion.

The district of the Praetorium

The district of the Praetorium is the most thoroughly researched and most efficiently published area of Gortyn (Figure 7.3).[59] The Italian excavations have proved that this district was the metropolis' political, administrative, and religious epicentre throughout the centuries. I will only focus on a few events in its later history since at that time the official and monumental character of the district seems to have declined. The delimitations between public, religious, and private spaces become less defined. By studying the changes undergone here, it may be possible to detect the agents behind important urban developments.

Epigraphical evidence shows that Ecumenius Dositheus Asclepiodotus, governor of Crete from 381 to 384, was responsible for the works that gave this complex its new function and monumental appearance. A spacious hall of justice, the New Praetorium (Καινόν Πραιτώριον), was erected then.[60] Dositheus was also responsible for the refurbishment of the Nymphaion on the opposite side of the North Street. The Praetorium's last phase, with its even larger and more imposing hall of justice, dates to the reign of Heraclius.

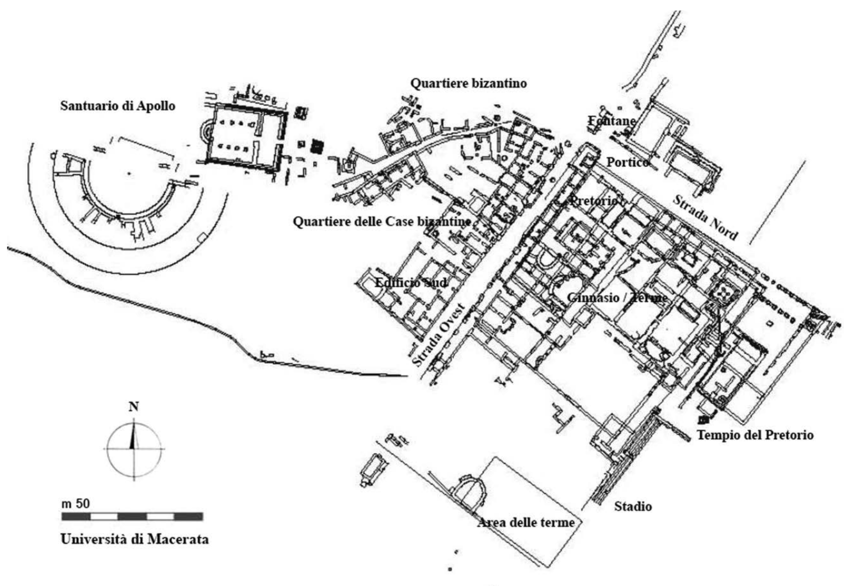

Figure 7.3 Gortyn: the district of "Praetorium" and the "Byzantine Quarter." From Perna, "Γόρτυνα," fig. 6. Used with permission.

Inscriptions honouring Heraclius and members of the imperial family were carved on the four columns of the Nymphaion's façade, opposite the justice hall's new monumental entrance.[61] All of the transformations in the use of space in the district of the Praetorium described so far are directly associated with the action of governors and members of the ruling class. They are exclusively associated with the exercise of power and its public manifestations.

According to Di Vita, the Praetorium complex was destroyed around 670 by an earthquake. Enzo Lippolis has challenged this date and argued that the disastrous event took place later, around 720–730.[62] The architectural remains excavated in the early decades of the twentieth century, corresponding to the last building phase of the complex in the eighth century, were interpreted by their excavators as the ruins of a monastic complex. These remains include two olive presses, silos, and a warehouse with pithoi. The lid of one pithos featured a Christian invocatory inscription, which bolstered the hypothesis that a monastery was established in the former civic space of the courthouse.[63]

The proposal that the Praetorium was converted to a monastery was questioned recently, since structures typical of a monastery, such as a church and a refectory, are missing. Only a small bi-apsidal chapel has been identified in the north-western corner of the complex, which encroached on a part of the West Street.[64] And besides, if the Praetorium had been converted into a monastery, where did the trial of the monk Paul take place? According to the Life of Saint Stephen the Younger (*BHG* 1666), a text by Stephen the Deacon dating to 807/809, the iconophile monk Paul was taken for questioning to the "so-called Praetorium of Herakleios" (ἐν τῷ λεγομένῳ πραιτώριῳ τοῦ Ἡρακλείου) by the island's *archisatrapes*, Theophanes Lardotyros.[65]

This extract from the Life of Saint Stephen the Younger is particularly important, not only because it refers to the Praetorium but also as it provides evidence for the establishment of the Theme of Crete before 767, the year of Saint Stephen's martyrdom.[66] The text refers to Lardotyros twice as *strategos*, although he obviously also fulfilled judicial functions. Before the creation of the Theme of Crete, and possibly for some time after, Crete enjoyed the special status of an *archontia*, which is shown by the numerous lead seals of the *archontes* of Crete dating from the eighth to the beginning of the ninth century.[67] Roberto Perna has argued that the seat of the *archon* of Crete was transferred to the walled Acropolis of Gortyn. This view seems particularly likely if we consider that the *archon* had increased military power, as the *strategos* of the theme did later.[68]

In order to better understand the physical layout and appearance of the Praetorium district, one should start by examining the opposite side of the West Street (Figures 7.3 and 7.4). The area between the Pythion and the Praetorium was occupied by a dense network of houses-workshops as early as the mid-fifth century, as demonstrated by numismatic evidence. The section excavated along the West Street was dubbed the "Byzantine Quarter" by Di Vita. The houses and workshops, built along the West Street and encroaching on a small section of the pavement, were interpreted as the poor dwellings of farmers-artisans who settled in this neighbourhood in the seventh to eighth centuries when the urban fabric had already disintegrated.[69]

However, these two-storied houses-workshops are architecturally homogeneous and organically integrated into the urban fabric, as shown by the fact that they are connected directly to the aqueduct. A section of this, which crossed the West Street, ran along the façade of these buildings.[70] Potters, glassmakers, and metalsmiths are the three categories of artisans identified archaeologically in the "Byzantine Quarter" by Di Vita. The presence of workshops lowers the quality of life in the neighbourhood – suffice it to imagine the fire hazard, the foul smells, the rubbish – and contrasts with the official character of the adjacent buildings. Enrico Zanini interprets the presence of these workshops as the result of the transfer of small-scale industrial/productive activities from the margins of cities into the city centre, a phenomenon that he terms "micro-migration."[71]

Inside the courtyard of a building directly opposite the courthouse is a pottery kiln (Figure 7.4, no. 30). It was used exclusively for the production of painted wares, a very distinctive local ceramic type: these are mainly tableware,

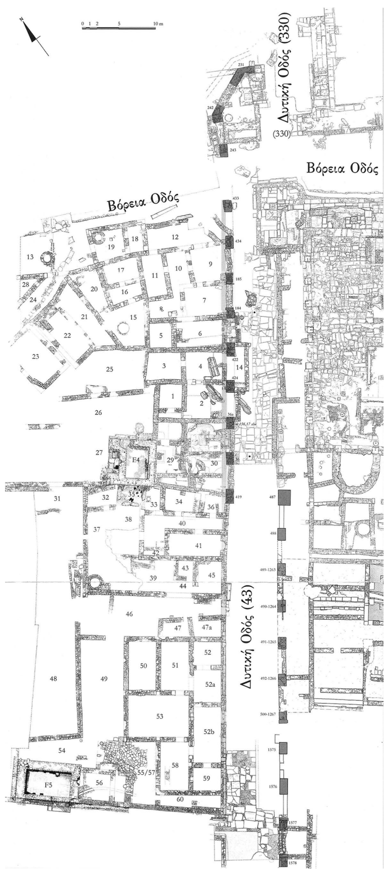

Figure 7.4 Gortyn: the "Byzantine Quarter". From Di Vita, *Η Γόρτυνα της Κρήτης*, pl. D. Used with permission.

dishes, and jars with Christian symbols dominating the painted decoration. This local production begins at the end of the sixth century and continues until the eighth century.[72] Although painted wares are present in many of Gortyn's late stratigraphical horizons, few examples have been identified in other Cretan sites. Platon Petridis notes the resemblance of Gortyn's painted wares to pottery from Egypt, especially Kellia and Elephantine.[73] Gortyn's painted wares even more closely resemble ceramic wares from Isauria: the similarity of the painted wares from Gortyn to those excavated in Alahan is remarkable. The Alahan pottery was called "monastic ware" by its excavator and dated generically to the fifth to sixth century for lack of stratified context.[74] Indeed, all of the sites mentioned above are monastic ones and/or pilgrimage centres.

Having in mind that these artefacts do not belong to a standardized ceramic production intended for intra-regional trade, they might be more easily interpreted as the distinctive material signature of a social group. I wonder if this can be seen as archaeological evidence, not so much for "micro-migration," but for proper migration, a witness to the flight of the inhabitants of the empire's eastern provinces because of the Persian and, later, the Arab raids. It is possible that the potters who produced them in Gortyn were actually monks who had settled in Gortyn. If this hypothesis should prove correct, one should ask whether these urban monks were serving in a *diakonia* or another charitable institution. The architectural remains of the praetorium that have been recognized as belonging to a monastery (olive presses, silos, warehouse), could well be those of a charitable institution. An example of a *diakonia* occupying space within the block of a praetorium is to be found in Naples: the *diakonia* of Saints John and Paul was renovated based on epigraphic testimony by the Duke of Naples Theodoros in 721/722,[75] at the exact same time that Andreas was active in Gortyn.

Further west, in the area between the "Byzantine Quarter" and the Pythion, excavations under Enrico Zanini have revealed new evidence of the character of this neighbourhood. Here a building complex consists of a large structure linked to smaller buildings used for craft activity. Part of an earlier public passageway seems to have been transformed into the inner courtyard of this complex. According to the excavator, the dimensions, quality of building materials, and direct connection to the city's water supply system indicate that Building B may have been "connected to some public (religious or civil) use or otherwise belonged to a member of the urban *élite*."[76] The abandonment of the cities by members of the local aristocracy and the *curia* does not seem to apply to seventh-century Gortyn. In a letter sent by Pope Vitalian to Metropolitan Paul of Gortyn, in 668, a reference is made to the Eulampios *curialis*.[77] However, the difficulty of discerning public from private space, as expressed by the excavators of the building complex, is understandable. Such interpretation depends not only on who owns the place but also on who manages or uses it and for what purpose. The dwelling unit that the excavations have revealed recalls strongly the well-known *aules* that emerged in Middle and Late Byzantine cities. These *aules* have been aptly characterized by Tonia Kiousopoulou as areas of extended privacy.[78]

The district of the Acropolis

Following the course of the water supply and the spatial distribution of the cisterns, a residential cluster can be identified on the south-eastern slopes of the Acropolis, on the level ground north of the theatre, outside the fortified enclosure (Figure 7.5). The construction of the lower junction of the aqueduct on the southeast slopes of the hill and the fountains connected with it dates back to the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth centuries.[79] The inhabitants of this neighbourhood had secured the privilege of direct access to water. This perhaps indicates that a cluster of affluent citizens of Gortyn lived here since the elites usually enjoyed better access to facilities than the non-elites.[80] When was this neighbourhood organized? According to the *Passio* of the Ten Martyrs, the Gortyn martyrs came from the city's upper district, the so-called Hermaion. Among them was the elderly Euporos, who according to the narrative belonged to the upper classes. Could the district, the so-called Hermaion, be identified with this cluster on the south-eastern slopes of the Acropolis?

The neighbourhood at the foot of the Acropolis existed before the construction of the Early Byzantine fortification. There are still questions regarding the wall's date (it has been placed in both the seventh and the eighth centuries). All proposed dates are based on historical arguments that have a common denominator: they suppose that the inhabitants of Gortyn moved

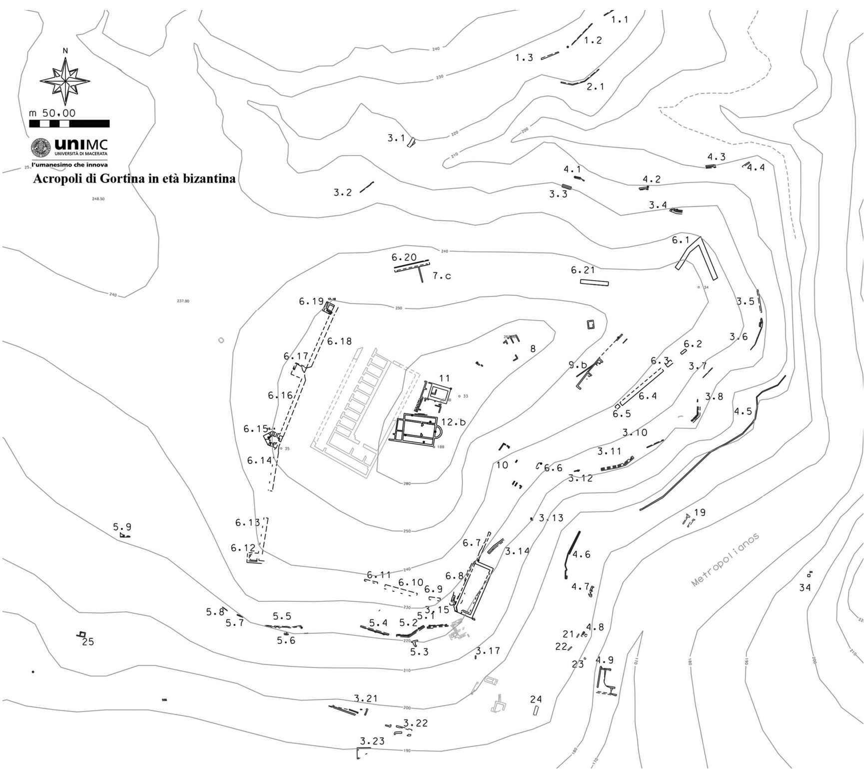

Figure 7.5 Gortyn: plan of the Acropolis. From Perna, *L'Acropoli di Gortina*, pl. IX. Used with permission.

to the fortified Acropolis only when the urban nucleus of the once-famous capital had been abandoned. Saint Andreas' *Vita* contains an important reference to Gortyn's fortified district and the relation between the city and its Acropolis. According to the *Vita*, during an Arab raid, the metropolitan people sought refuge, "as they usually did," within the fort τοῦ Δριμέως (ὀχυρώματι τῷ προσαγορευομένῳ τοῦ Δριμέως).[81] As I have argued in the past, the fort τοῦ Δριμέως mentioned in the *Vita* should most probably be identified with the fortified Acropolis on the Agios Ioannis hill.[82] The reference in Saint Andreas' *Vita* confirms indirectly that the city was not confined to the fortified district of the Acropolis, contrary to what is often maintained in the scholarly literature.[83]

Inside the fortification there are still remains of a large-scale public building, the so-called *Kastron*. It has been dated to the late third century AD, with additions dated to the Early Byzantine period. Scholars have interpreted the complex as a military quarter for soldiers, a suggestion that Di Vita also supports, at least for the last phase of the building's use.[84] Perna, however, concludes that the building functioned as a cistern, a conclusion also accepted by Giorgi.[85] To the west of the so-called *Kastron*, in the area previously occupied by an Archaic temple, excavations have revealed two churches, one on top of the other. No unanimity exists as to their dating: they have both been placed either in the fourth century, or in the sixth and seventh centuries, respectively.[86] A small cemetery was organized inside and around them. Some scattered buildings appear to be the remains of the Acropolis district during the Early Byzantine period.

As mentioned above, Perna infers that the fort – actually a *fortezza* – housed the administrative centre of Gortyn and consequently of the entire island. A lead seal unearthed during the Acropolis excavations reinforces his conclusion: this object belonged to Antiochos *koubikoularios* and *basilikos chartoularios* and probably dates to the mid-seventh century.[87] Perna's conclusion is cogent, but one issue that needs to be clarified is whether all the heads of the authority in the metropolis (i.e., military officials appointed from the capital, local rulers, or even the ecclesiastical authorities) lived there. I am inclined to suggest that the military centre ought to be distinguished from the administrative and the ecclesiastical centres, which continued to be hosted in the *asty*. Another problem is that the only building on the Acropolis that could be considered as the headquarters of a governor has been interpreted by Perna as a huge water tank.

Eleutherna

Eleutherna is located on a naturally fortified site on the northwest foothills of Mount Ida, at an altitude of approximately 350 m. According to Thanasis Kalpaxis, the city had a multi-nuclear organization from the start. Hellenistic Eleutherna stretched around and on top of two hills: Pyrgi or Prines hill and Nisi hill. The latter was no longer inhabited after the Roman period. At certain times, the city, which sprawled over neighbouring hills, may have occupied an area of 100–200 hectares; we are, however, still unable to accurately determine the city's residential organization and urban development. The full extent and limits of the Roman city are unknown, as are those of Early Byzantine Eleutherna.[88]

The Acropolis, which constitutes the core of the settlement through time, is identified with Pyrgi.[89] The base of this elongated and, at places, extremely steep rise is flanked by two small rivers, Chalopota to the West and Pharagitis to the East. These two rivers merge at the northern end of the hill, on their way to the sea (Figure 7.6). From the south, the hilltop was accessible only through a very narrow passage controlled by a tower, hence the hill's name (*pyrgos*, Pyrgi). The city developed on narrow terraces held up by strong support walls along the hillside and on the hilltop plateaus. Natural and man-made boundaries define in absolute terms the space within which the city's neighbourhoods developed. Large public complexes and buildings, such as the agora or the theatre, have not been tracked down, hence the poles around which the political and administrative life of the city was organized cannot be located with accuracy.

Eleutherna constituted possibly one of the earliest bishoprics in Crete, assuming that the *Vita of Saint Titus* reflects the island's ecclesiastical administration during the apostolic period. However, the earliest irrefutable evidence for the existence of the Eleutherna bishopric dates to AD 451, when

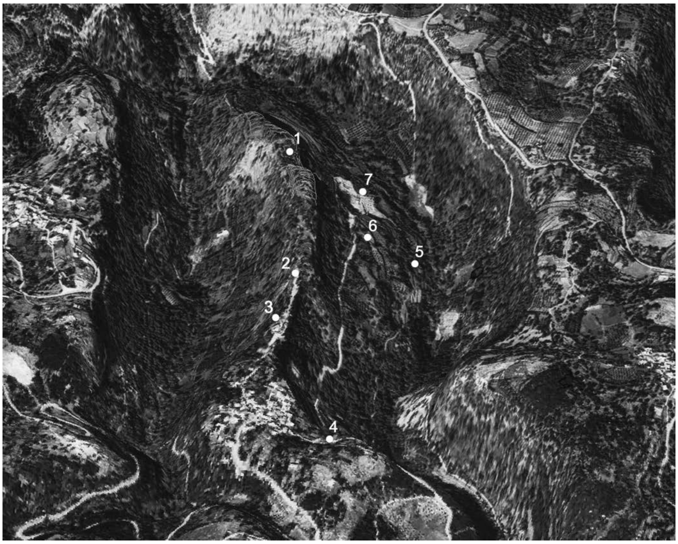

Figure 7.6 Eleutherna: the Acropolis and lower city viewed from the south. 1. Central Plateau, 2. Cisterns, 3. Tower, 4. Church of Christ the Saviour, 5. Basilica, 6. Basilica, 7. Basilica of the Archangel Michael. © Christina Tsigonaki, University of Crete.

Euphratas, Bishop of Eleutherna, participated in and signed the acts of the Fourth Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon. The last reference to the bishopric of Eleutherna appears in the third *Notitia*, which dates to the early ninth century, a few years before the Arab conquest.[90]

The lower districts of the city

Much of the Roman and Early Byzantine habitation of the city concentrated on the narrow, elongated terraces along the hill's east foot. Here – Katsivelos is the modern name of the site – is located one of the best excavated and published areas (Figure 7.7).[91] Eleutherna, as with the vast majority of Cretan cities, managed to overcome the shock of the great earthquake of AD 365. The reorganization of the space on the eastern slopes of Pyrgi is marked by the construction of four buildings dedicated to the new religion over an area ca. 800 m long. At the southernmost end is located the double church of Sotiras Christos and Agios Ioannis, which is still standing in the modern cemetery of the village Prines, beside a water fountain.[92] The church of Sotiras Christos was built on the remains of an Early Byzantine church, of which only the foundation of the apse of the sanctuary is visible nowadays. Judging from the dimensions of the foundation, the church must have been of an impressive size. The only clues to its dating are two capitals from the local limestone, which were found in the church and probably come from it, dating back to the mid-sixth century.[93] Another two Early Byzantine basilicas may be traced further south, at the widest eastern terrace: the so-called basilicas of Agia Eirini and Agios Markos. Architectural sculpture scattered around the area of Agia Eirini has been dated to the first half of the sixth century.[94] The ongoing excavation of the last two buildings may shed some light on the exact date of their construction, as well as on the equally important date of their abandonment.

A three-aisled basilica was put up at the northernmost end of the same east terrace. An inscription on the basilica's mosaic floor mentions that the church was dedicated to the Archangel Michael by Bishop Euphratas, who according to Themelis was the same person who attended the Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon in 451. A second building phase was dated to the seventh century. Themelis identified the basilica of Bishop Euphratas as the episcopal church of Eleutherna, but this was probably not the case. The basilica's location near the city's northern limit, the existence of an organized cemetery north and south of the building, and even its dedication to the Archangel Michael all lead to the conclusion that this was one of the cemetery churches of the city.[95] Ceramic evidence and small finds from the church area suggest that, even though it had shrunk in size, it was in use until the eighth century.[96] Most of the coins from the basilica excavations are bronze issues of Constans II (642–668). The latest coin is a follis of Constans II, with a countermark from the reign of Constantine IV (668–685).[97]

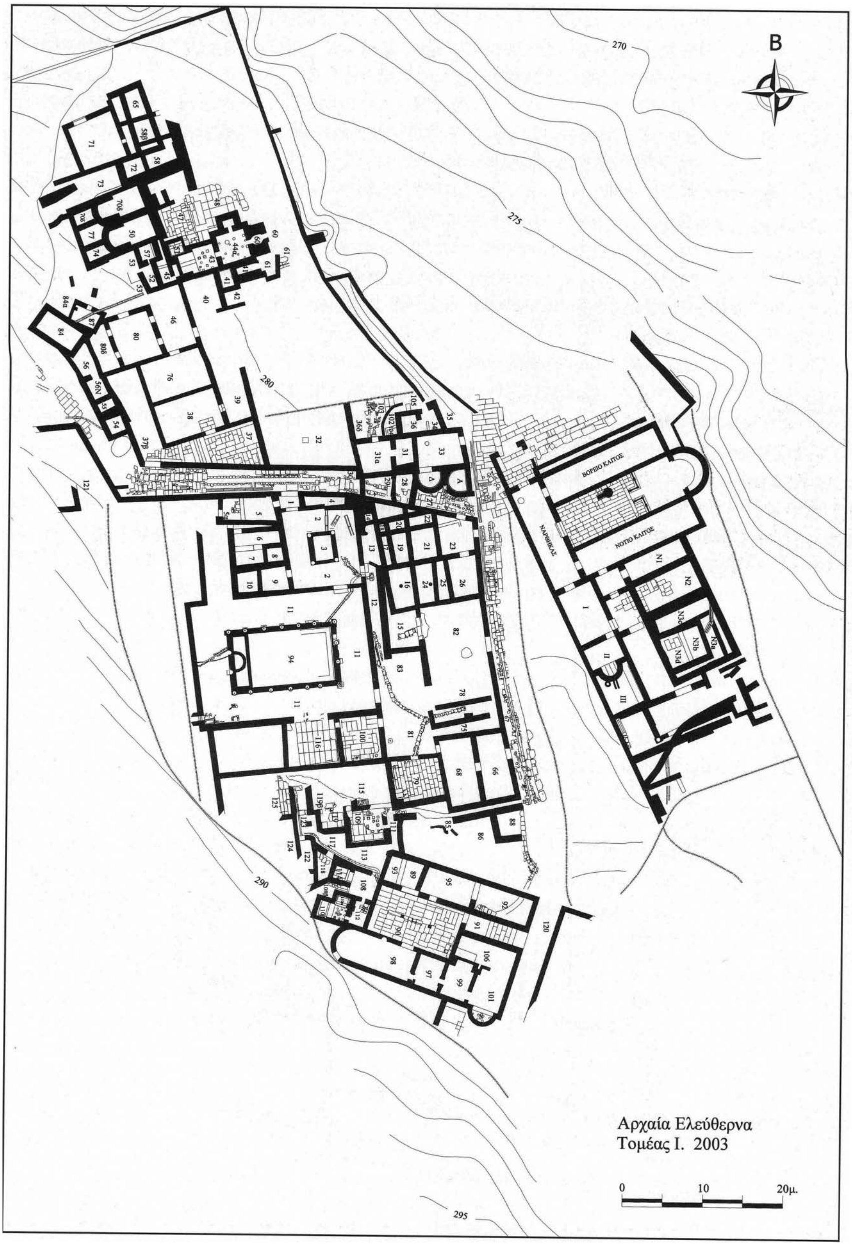

Figure 7.7 Eleutherna, lower district: plan of the excavated area at Katsivelos. From Themelis, *Πρωτοβυζαντινή Ελεύθερνα*, fig. 2 at p. 70. Used with permission.

The use of the buildings which were excavated across from the basilica of the Archangel Michael remains unclear. Some of these encroached on sections of the earlier road system. Themelis recognized here the baptistery of the church in use between the fifth and the seventh centuries.[98] Yet there is no distinct architectural element to corroborate this identification. A small (private?) Roman bathhouse of the second century was located at the northernmost end of the excavated area; part of this building continued to be in use through to the seventh century.[99] The bathhouse, a place of pleasure in the past, looked onto a cemetery in the new Christian era. The short distance that separates the basilica of Euphratas from the small bathhouse probably indicates that the latter functioned as part of a *diakonia*. In this case, the buildings west of the basilica of Euphratas could also be part of the same charitable institution.

The concentration of four churches in the limited area on the eastern slopes of Pyrgi demonstrates that this urban district was highly Christianized. If we consider that the erection of the basilicas created new nuclei of habitation, with Christians choosing to live closer to their places of worship, we should probably look here for the Early Byzantine city's Christian neighbourhoods. In any case, the finds which have been published to date indicate that this district coexisted with the fortified district on the Acropolis for quite a long time.

The district of the Acropolis

The defensive upgrade of the Acropolis in the Early Byzantine period was a turning point in the history of Eleutherna, which for centuries after the Roman conquest did not require a city wall. The sections of the wall that have been mapped until now indicate that the defensive perimeter enclosed the entire hilltop.[100] On the Acropolis, the excavations focused on the exploration of the so-called Central Plateau, the largest and, therefore, most suitable for building, of the natural terraces on the north section of the hill of Pyrgi (Figure 7.8). Modern footpaths and ancient roads from the east and west slopes end here.

The excavations on the Central Plateau revealed the sacred and public character of this area, directly relating to the political and religious functions of the city. An Archaic temple, a Roman public bathhouse and a tetraconch of unspecific date and use seem to have constituted the major landmarks during different phases of its history. The buildings of the Central Plateau were destroyed around the mid-fourth century. Excavation revealed a picture of abandonment for at least two of the centuries that followed. Characteristic archaeological finds of the fifth and sixth centuries, such as coins, oil lamps, and pottery, are generally absent, suggesting that the Central Plateau remained uninhabited until the seventh century.

Figure 7.8 Eleutherna, district of the Acropolis (Pyrgi). Plan of the Central Plateau excavation. A. Archaic temple, B. Roman bathhouse, C. Church. © Christina Tsigonaki, University of Crete.

On the Central Plateau, a Christian church was built directly north of, and partly over, the ancient temple, from which building material was taken. Its unusual shape results from the incorporation of the so-called tetraconch in its core. The tetraconch was radically remodelled in the seventh century. Its overall area doubled with the addition of side aisles to the north and south and a narthex to the west. Burials occupied the north and south apse, the narthex, and the east and west interior compartments. Furthermore, a small cemetery was established south of the church, on the location previously occupied by a pagan temple. The graves were placed almost directly on the ancient temple's floor. The small clay vessels found in the tombs here find accurate parallels in the vessels of the graves in the basilica of the Archangel Michael.[101]

This church was the core of the district that developed on the Central Plateau during the seventh century. The cluster of buildings discovered so far is characterized by its clear organization, with the walls consistently following the same orientation. The buildings are laid out on either side (to the east and west) of a street approximately 3.5 m wide. The section of the street uncovered so far runs parallel to the fortification wall and features a water channel on one side. This street passed over the Roman bath, indicating that the space and circulation on the Central Plateau were entirely reorganized in the seventh century. Except for scattered graves, associated with the plateau's abandonment rather than its occupation phase, there is no evidence of human settlement on the Central Plateau after approximately the mid-eighth century.[102]

The remodelling of the district of the Acropolis and its defensive upgrade done in the seventh century were probably the most important changes in the cityscape of Byzantine Eleutherna. The Byzantine wall of the Acropolis is an integral part of the district that it protected. The district's water supply was ensured by two large rock-hewn Roman cisterns, which were still in use and included within the walled area.[103] The church, the buildings around it, and the city wall belong to the same building program, which can be dated to the seventh century. This is evidenced by the pottery and coins discovered so far, even though we are still unable to determine with full accuracy if the work belongs to the first or the second half of the seventh century. Here again the majority of the numismatic evidence comprises folleis of Heraclius and Constans II. The latest Byzantine coin is one follis of Leo III and Constantine V (732–741). The discovery of an Arabic coin, dated to the early eighth century, is of particular interest.[104] The study of the pottery showed that the district was inhabited at least up until the mid-eighth century.[105]

The church's large size and the discovery of artefacts relating to administrative functions, such as three lead seals and two bronze weights, suggest that the city's religious and administrative centre moved to the Central Plateau of the fortified Acropolis. Yet neither the architectural forms nor the small finds (such as knives, thimbles, styluses, and dress accessories) offer a clear image of the function of the buildings discovered around the church so far. It is worth noting the discovery of a belt buckle, together with an arrowhead, presumably belonging to a soldier. In any case, the construction of walls indicates the presence of an army in the city, since this was the only body with the engineering skills and resources to design and execute such a large-scale project.

The establishment and separation of districts at Eleutherna appear to follow the principles of urban design that had appeared in the Balkans a century earlier. Justiniana Prima (Caričin Grad) is perhaps the most representative example of a newly founded city of the sixth century, as its plan echoes the principles of urban planning which were valid at the time of Justinian.[106] The fortified Acropolis, a response to the need for security, was not the last refuge for the city's inhabitants, but rather an isolated district where administrative and religious power were concentrated. At Eleutherna, just as in the other cities of the empire, the Acropolis fortification was also intended to isolate the city's ecclesiastical-administrative centre from the other inhabited neighbourhoods, by controlling access to it. As has been shown above, the district on the Acropolis and the neighbourhood at Katsivelos were both inhabited during the seventh century and their inhabitants made use of the same artefacts. A very interesting question to be answered by future investigations is whether neighbourhoods on the vulnerable lower eastern terraces were also protected by fortifications.

Conclusions

Walking through the neighbourhoods of Gortyn and Eleutherna, I have often felt like an outsider, one who only superficially understands what is going on around them. Undoubtedly, it is easier to identify and define zones with public architecture as having distinct functional roles. Thus, neighbourhoods and districts that develop around religious institutions, as well as those relating to the exercise of power, both secular and religious, are more readily perceptible in the cityscape. This visibility is partly the result of the strategy and choices of an archaeological investigation. In contrast, it is far more difficult to identify social groupings, even more so, class-based residential ones. In other words, it is difficult to recognize, through the physical and structural surroundings, the real people living, working, and functioning inside a neighbourhood, those who create the social ties that define the same. The task becomes even more difficult when we examine, as in Gortyn and Eleutherna, the neighbourhoods of the seventh and eighth centuries, a period of major transformations at every level, be it political, social, or economic.

The search for neighbourhoods in these two Cretan cities has allowed us first and foremost to test our methodological tools and seek out the limits of the archaeological evidence. The water distribution system that crosses the city unites the different neighbourhoods through the social cohesion required to keep its flow uninterrupted. In contrast, the walls of the fortified citadels create boundaries and social segmentation. Fountains and churches offer us clues as to where one should be looking to discern habitation zones. Small private or ecclesiastical baths and charitable foundations, like the *diakoniai*, could be seen as focal points in the different neighbourhoods. Organized cemeteries could also have links to one or more adjacent neighbourhoods. The dead now indicate the neighbourhoods of the living.

The new perspective into the neighbourhoods of Byzantine cities at least leads us well away from the conventional polarized image of flourish and fall. Aspects such as the encroachment onto and thus the shrinking of public space, the ruralization, and the manner of Christianization within the urban landscape, all of which have dominated the historiography of Byzantine cities, can be recast and investigated anew if done so from the point of view of districts and neighbourhoods. This is particularly noticeable in the case of the Praetorium at Gortyn, the city's most thoroughly published district. The appearance of small artisanal units next to public buildings is usually interpreted as a sign of the decline of the former public space. Most likely, however, the workshops were now part of these very same public foundations. Such enterprises, for example, may belong to monasteries or other charitable foundations, often located in the central parts of cities. The district of the Praetorium remained a major axis of public life but completely changed its character with the Christianization of the city. The *Vita* of Saint Andreas of Crete is the most important evidence to demonstrate the interweaving of church politics and civic life at Gortyn during the eighth century. As a metropolitan, Andreas embodied the Christian spirit of charity and, at the same time, he inherited the ancient institution of the *euergetes* (benefactor).

The fortified acropoleis, both in Gortyn and Eleutherna, were distinct areas where the authorities had the privilege of residing, and at the same time the opportunity of supervising the surrounding area and controlling the movement of people. The towers and bastions of the fortified acropolis, which protected them not only from an external and foreign enemy but potentially also from the inhabitants of the city itself, may have been the administration's response to the constant social upheavals mentioned in the historical sources of the seventh century. According to George Kiourtzian, a civilian riot, not an Arab raid, is implied in the wording of a seventh-century inscription from Heraklion.[107] In any case, a new social segregation, a sign of the times, begins: residents who have the right to security and those who do not. Our inability to understand precisely the nature of the powers that are housed in the citadels may not simply be due to the failings of archaeological research but also to the difficulty of distinguishing the roles of the different authorities (local and central administration, military, and ecclesiastical hierarchies) during the seventh and eighth centuries.

All of the transformations that I am describing seem part of a "top-down" series of processes. The fortifications of Eleutherna and Gortyn, both strong and costly structures, were in my opinion the result of central planning, in which the provincial government was involved, and not an initiative of the inhabitants of these two cities. Even Andreas' ecclesiastical policy can be included in the same interpretive framework. Both in the construction of a church dedicated to the Virgin of Blachernae, the protector par excellence of Constantinople, and with the construction of charitable institutions, Andreas acts as the agent of the imperial policy in Crete through the medium of religion. The need for security and, especially, the infiltration of Christianity into many aspects of everyday life, even in those services that used to be earlier the responsibility of the local authorities, transform the urban landscape and consequently the neighbourhoods of cities. The difficulty of distinguishing between public or private spaces reveals the social fluidity of the time and the mixed character of the neighbourhoods we examined: citizens, ecclesiastical authorities, local officials, craftsmen, monks, the military, the needy, all coexist in cities that are in a process of transformation.[108]

The final picture of the neighbourhoods revealed in both Gortyn and Eleutherna is none other than the start of the transition to the typical medieval modes of city organization. This transition was never realized, since the beginning of the ninth century saw an end to their individual stories. Both Gortyn and Eleutherna were abandoned shortly before or because of the Arab conquest. They are "frozen" at this point, leaving them as a snapshot of that time, and making their research and comprehension a great challenge for future researchers.

Notes

1 Paul Magdalino, "Neighbourhoods in Byzantine Constantinople," in *Hinter den Mauern und auf dem offenen Land: Leben im byzantinischen Reich*, ed. Falko Daim and Jörg Drauschke, Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okdzient 3 (Mainz: Verlag des Romisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, 2016), 23–30.

2 Michael E. Smith, "The Archaeological Study of Neighborhoods and Districts in Ancient Cities," *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 29 (2010): 137–154.

3 Ibid., 138 and fig. 2.

4 *Libanios, Les Discours t. III, Discours XI, Antiochicos*, ed. and trans. Michel Casevitz and O. Lagacherie (Belles Lettres: Paris, 2016), 251–252. English Translation by A. F. Norman, *Antioch as a Centre of Hellenic Culture as Observed by Libanius*, Translated Texts for Historians 34 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), 59.

5 Libanius, *Or.* XI, 212; Norman, *Antioch*, 50.

6 Libanius, *Or.* XI, 245; Norman, *Antioch*, 57–58.

7 Libanius, *Or.* XI, 231; Norman, *Antioch*, 54.

8 Libanius, *Or.* XI, 249–250; Norman, *Antioch*, 58–59.

9 Libanius, *Or.* XIX, 62.

10 Libanius, *Or.* V, 43.

11 Catherine Saliou, "Pour une étude de l'organisation de l'espace urbain d'Antioche sur l'Oronte dans l'antiquité tardive," in *"Libera curiositas": Mélanges d'histoire romaine et d'antiquité tardive offerts à Jean-Michel Carrié*, ed. Christel Freu, Sylvain Janniard, and Arthur Ripoll, Bibliothèque de l'Antiquité Tardive 31 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016), 257–264; Catherine Saliou, "Bains et histoire

urbaine: L'exemple d'Antioche sur l'Oronte dans l'Antiquité," in *25 siècles de bain collectif en Orient: Proche-Orient, Égypte et péninsule Arabique*, ed. Marie-Françoise Boussac, Sylvie Denoix, Thibaud Fournet, and Bérangère Redon (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 2014), 657–685, here at 671–674.

12 *Agnellus of Ravenna: The Book of Pontiffs of the Church of Ravenna*, trans. Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2004), 286–287, §162. Deliyannis' translation includes a schematic topographical map (page xii) attempting to illustrate the text's topographical references. The regions mentioned in the text (i.e. *regio ad Frigiselo, regio Herculana, regio Latrorum, regio ad Nimpheos*) are represented as neighbourhoods within broader districts.

13 Ibid., 48–52, § 126–129; Judith Herrin, "Urban Riot or Civic Ritual? The Crowd in Early Medieval Ravenna," in *Raum und Performanz: Rituale in Residenzen von der Antike bis 1815*, ed. Dietrich Boschung, Karl-Joachim Hölkeskamp, and Claudia Sode (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2015), 219–240.

14 Herrin, "Urban Riot," 219–220.

15 Bryan Ward-Perkins, "The Cities," in *The Cambridge Ancient History 13: Late Empire, A.D. 337–425*, ed. Averil Cameron and Peter Garnsey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 371–410, here at 410.

16 Christina Tsigonaki and Apostolos Sarris, "Recapturing the Dynamics of the Early Byzantine Settlements in Crete: Old Problems − New Interpretations through an Interdisciplinary Approach," in *Proceedings of the 3rd International Landscape Archaeology Conference LAC 2014* (Amsterdam: University Library, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, 2016).

17 Christina Tsigonaki, "Crete, a Border at the Sea: Defensive Works and Landscape-Mindscape Changes (Seventh-Eighth Centuries)," in *Change and Resilience: The Occupation of Mediterranean Islands in Late Antiquity*, ed. Miguel Ángel Cau Ontiveros and Catalina Mas Florit, Joukowsky Institute Publication 9 (Oxford: Oxbow, 2019), 163–192.

18 Antonino Di Vita, *Gortina di Creta: Quindici secoli di vita urbana* (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2010), 3–5, Plate I.

19 *Stephani Byzantii Ethnica,* ed. Margarethe Billerbeck and Arlette Neumann-Hartmann, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 43/4 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2016), IV.275.19 (104–105).

20 Di Vita, *Gortina di Creta*, 38–40, fn. 75 and 75, fn. 273.

21 Theocharis E. Detorakis, *Οι άγιοι της πρώτης βυζαντινής περιόδου της Κρήτης και η σχετική προς αυτούς φιλολογία* (Athens: Ethnikon kai Kapodistriakon Panepistemion Athenon, 1970), 54–57 and 65–66. "Passion of the Ten Martyrs of Crete," in Pio Franchi de' Cavalieri Pio, *Scritti agiografici* II, Studi e testi 222 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1962), 367–400, here at 390. 20–23, 396.14, 398.23.

22 It should be noted that no traces of the city's Hellenistic fortification walls in the plain have been found either. See Nuzio Allegro and Maria Ricciardi, *Gortina IV: Le fortificazioni di età ellenistica*, Monografie della Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene 10 (Padua: Bottega d'Erasmo, 1999). According to recent results of satellite remote-sensing analysis, the possibility of fortifications enclosing the sites of Agia Limni and Agioi Deka, including the Roman amphitheatre, should be considered: Apostolos Sarris et al., "Ground-based and Satellite-imaging Technologies for Mapping the Ancient Settlement of Gortyn, Crete" in *Archaeological Work in Crete 4, Proceedings of the 4th Meeting, Rethymnon, 24–27 November 2016,* vol. 1, ed. Pavlina Karanastasi, Anastasia Tzigounaki, and Christina Tsigonaki (Rethymnon: Ministry of Culture and Sports – Ephorate of Antiquities of Rethymnon, 2020), 325–335, here at 333.

23 Di Vita, *Gortina di Creta*, 7, fig. 10, and 231–239; Elisabetta Giorgi, *Archeologia dell'acqua a Gortina di Creta in età protobizantina* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2016), 93–95.
24 Mario Pagano, "Ricerche sull'acquedotto e sulle fontane romane e bizantine di Gortina (Creta)," *Creta Antica* 8 (2007): 325–400; Giorgi, *Archeologia dell'acqua*, fig. 39.
25 Di Vita, *Gortina di Creta*, 236.
26 Giorgi, *Archeologia dell'acqua*, 68.
27 Anastasios Bandy, *The Greek Christian Inscriptions of Crete* (Athens: Christian Archaeological Society, 1970), no. 47, 77–78; Giorgi, *Archeologia dell'acqua*, 64–65, fig. 36.
28 Bandy, *Inscriptions*, no. 33, 63.
29 Bryan Ward-Perkins, *From Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages: Urban Public Building in Northern and Central Italy, AD 300–850* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), 127–146. Rudolf Haensch, "Christlicher Euergetismus ob honorem? Die Einsetzung von Klerikern in ihre Ämter und die von diesen vorangetriebenen Bauprojekte," in *Episcopal Elections in Late Antiquity*, ed. Johan Leemans, Peter van Nuffelen, Shawn W. J. Keough, and Carla Nicolaye, Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte 119 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), 167–181.
30 Di Vita, *Gortina di Creta*, fig. 346, 350; Giorgi, *Archeologia dell'acqua*, 122, 229–30 (no. 73), 236–237 (no. 78), 247–48 (no. 85), 251–54 (no. 88), 266–67 (no. 98), 268–69 (no. 99). See also general map on 161, fig. 122.
31 Pagano, "Ricerche," 394–400.
32 Giorgi, *Archeologia dell'acqua*, fig. 62.
33 Giorgi, *Archeologia dell'acqua*, 92–99 and fig. 37.
34 Libanius, *Or.* XI, 246–247; Norman, *Antioch,* 58. See also Catherine Saliou, "Rhétorique et réalités: L'eau dans l'Éloge d'Antioche (Libanios, Or. XI)," *Chronos : Revue d'histoire de l'Université de Balamand* 13 (2006): 7–27.
35 Benjamin W. Stanley et al., "Service Access in Premodern Cities: An Exploratory Comparison of Spatial Equity," *Journal of Urban History* 42 (2016): 121–144.
36 Giorgi, *Archeologia dell'acqua*, 99–103, 109–117. On the characterization of the complex as private, see below.
37 The written sources of later periods reveal the different aspects of water management within cities. According to the *Typikon* of 1137, the Pantokrator Monastery in Constantinople managed the revenues from water supply not only in the city of Thessaloniki but also from the watermills: Paul Gautier, "Le typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator," *Revue des études byzantines* 32 (1974): 1–145, here at 121.1534–1535. A very important testimony is the legislative provisions for the operation and maintenance of the Morozini aqueduct in Venetian Chandax (1628): Stergios Spanakis, *Η ύδρευση του Ηρακλείου 828–1939* (Heraklion: Techniko Epimeleterio Ellados / Tmema Anatolikes Kretes, 1981), 76–84.
38 Eugene F. Ware, *Roman Water Law: Translated from the Pandects of Justinian* (St. Paul, Minnesota: West Publishing, 1905), 73–76.
39 Claudia Lambrugo et al., "Gortys, 'Terme a Sud del Pretorio': Observations on the Main Phases of the Building Ten Years on from the Beginning of the Excavations," in *Archaeological Work in Crete 3, Proceedings of the 3rd Meeting, Rethymnon, 5–8 December 2013,* vol. 1, ed. Pavlina Karanastasi, Anastasia Tzigounaki, and Christina Tsigonaki (Rethymnon: Panepistimio Kretes, 2015), 553–563. Giorgio Bejor et al., "Gortyna: Le Terme a Sud del Pretorio (2003–2014). La storia dell'edificio nella storia della città," *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene* 94 (2016): 59–106.
40 Di Vita, *Gortina di Creta*, 265–269. After the destruction of the building, it was occupied by a kiln, which in turn appears to have been destroyed at the end of

the seventh century. The space both inside the bathhouse and outside it was occupied by graves dating to the seventh and eighth centuries.

41 Henri-Irénée Marrou, "L'origine orientale des diaconies romaines," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 57 (1940): 95–142; Hendrik W. Dey, "*Diaconiae*, *Xenodochia*, *Hospitalia* and Monasteries: 'Social Security' and the Meaning of Monasticism in Early Medieval Rome," *Early Medieval Europe* 16 (2008): 398–422; Béatrice Caseau, "L'exercice de la charité à Byzance d'après les sceaux et les tessères (VIe-XIIe siècle)," in *Οὗ δῶρόν εἰμι τὰς γραφὰς βλέπων νόει. Mélanges Jean-Claude Cheynet,* ed. Béatrice Caseau, Vivien Prigent and Alessio Sopracasa, Travaux et Mémoires 21/1 (Paris: Association des Amis du Centre d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, 2017) 31–52; Saliou, "Bains."

42 Ward-Perkins, *From Classical Antiquity*, 135–146.

43 Paul Magdalino, "Church, Bath and *Diakonia* in Medieval Constantinople," in *Church and People in Byzantium*, ed. Rosemary Morris (Birmingham: Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek Studies, University of Birmingham, 1990), 165–188.

44 Chris Wickham, *Medieval Rome. Stability and Crisis of a City. 900–1150* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015): 307, 331–332. A similar view of the role of baths in the neighbourhoods of Constantinople has been expressed by Fikret Yegül, "Baths of Constantinople: An Urban Symbol in a Changing World," in *Archaeology and History in Roman, Medieval and Post-Medieval Greece: Studies on Method and Meaning in Honor of Timothy E. Gregory*, ed. William Caraher, Linda Jones Hall, and R. Scott Moore (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 169–195, here at 186.

45 Carl H. Kraeling (ed.), *Gerasa, City of Decapolis* (London: American Schools of Oriental Research 1938), 227–234, 316–318, 485–486 (inscr. no 331), pl. XXXV and LXIIb; Marrou, "L'origine," 112–115 and 120.

46 Isabella Baldini Lippolis, "Architettura protobizantina a Gortina: La basilica di Mavropapa," *Creta Antica* 3 (2002): 301–320, here at 311–312, fig. 15a-b. Bandy, *Inscriptions*, 57–58, no. 30.

47 Marie-France Auzépy, "La carrière d'André de Crète," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 88 (1995): 1–12; Marie-France Auzépy, "Le rôle des émigrés orientaux à Constantinople et dans l'empire (634–843): Acquis et perspectives," *Al-Qantara* 33 (2012): 475–503.

48 *Vita Andreae Cretensis*. Panayoti Skaltsi, "Νικήτα τοῦ πανεύφημου πατρικίου καὶ κυέστορος: Βίος τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρός ἡμῶν Ἀνδρέου τοῦ Ἱεροσολυμίτου, ἀρχιεπισκόπου γενομένου Κρήτης," in *Ο Άγιος Ανδρέας αρχιεπίσκοπος Κρήτης ο Ιεροσολυμίτης πολιούχος Ερεσού Λέσβου: Πρακτικά Επιστημονικού Συνεδρίου (1–4 Ιουλίου 2003)* (Mytilini: Ekdoseis Ieras Metropoleos Mytilinis, 2005), 365–402, here at 390.180–188. Christina Tsigonaki, "Πόλεων ἀνελπίστοις μεταβολαῖς: Ιστορικές και αρχαιολογικές μαρτυρίες από τη Γόρτυνα και την Ελεύθερνα της Κρήτης (4ος-8ος αι.)," in *Οι βυζαντινές πόλεις (8ος – 15ος αιώνας): Προοπτικές της έρευνας και νέες ερμηνευτικές προσεγγίσεις*, ed. Tonia Kioussopoulou (Rethymnon: Faculty of Letters Publications, University of Crete, 2012), 73–100, here at 88. Isabella Baldini et al., "Gortina, Mitropolis e il suo episcopato nel VII e nell'VIII secolo: ricerche preliminari," *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene* 90 (2012): 239–308, here at 252–53 (S. Cosentino).

49 *Vita Andreae Cretensis*, 387.128–131. According to his *Vita*, the *diakonia* at Eugeniou was already in operation at the end of the seventh century; see also Magdalino, "Church, Bath, and *Diakonia*," 187.

50 *Vita Andreae Cretensis,* 389–390.170–176.

51 Di Vita, *Gortina di Creta*, 309–334. See also Roberto Perna, "Η Γόρτυνα μεταξύ 4ου και 6ου αι. μ.Χ.: Τα αποτελέσματα των αρχαιολογικών ερευνών του Πανεπιστημίου της Macerata στο Νότιο Κτήριο," in *Archaeological Work in Crete*

4, Proceedings of the 4th Meeting, Rethymnon, 24–27 November 2016, vol. 2, ed. Pavlina Karanastasi, Anastasia Tzigounaki, and Christina Tsigonaki (Rethymnon: Ministry of Culture and Sports – Ephorate of Antiquities of Rethymnon, 2020), 509–529, here at 520, fig. 7 and 525–526.

52 For the *γειτονίες* of Middle and Late Byzantine Thessaloniki see Melina Paissidou et al., "Η τεκμηρίωση της μεσοβυζαντινής Θεσσαλονίκης: Μνημειακά κατάλοιπα και αρχειακές πληροφορίες. Συμπεράσματα ενός ερευνητικού προγράμματος," *Το Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και τη Θράκη* 27: (2013), 267–278, here at 268–270. However, the opposite view is expressed by Fotini Kondyli (in this volume).

53 Richard Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals: Topography and Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 26–33.

54 Brent D. Shaw, *Sacred Violence: African Christians and Sectarian Hatred in the Age of Augustine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 254–255.

55 Di Vita, *Gortina di Creta*, 73–74, fig. 85.

56 Luigi Pernier, "L' 'Odeum' nell' 'Agorà' di Gortina presso il Leteo," *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene* 8–9 (1925–26): 1–69, here at 58–61. Di Vita, *Gortina di Creta*, 88, fig. 104; and 100–101, figs. 117–118.

57 Di Vita, *Gortina di Creta*, 280–282.

58 Di Vita, *Gortina di Creta*, 264–269 and 368–371; Francesco Mallegni, "Settore L: Analisi dei resti scheletrici umani," in *Gortina I*, ed. Antonino di Vita, Monografie della Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene 3 (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1988), 339–416. See also: Baldini et al., "Gortina," 272–275 (Enrica Sgarzi).

59 Antonino Di Vita, *Gortina V: Lo scavo del Pretorio (1989–1995)*, Monografie della Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene 12 (Padua: Bottega d'Erasmo, 2000–2001). Di Vita, *Gortina di Creta*, 162–229, esp. 187–205.

60 On law courts housed in the Praetoria of Late Antiquity and also for the rest of the rooms relating to the exercise of the provincial government (reception halls, *secretaria*, offices, prisons and *horrea)*, see Luke Lavan, "The Praetoria of Civil Governors in Late Antiquity," *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 42 (2001): 39–56.

61 Di Vita, *Gortina di Creta*, 224–229; Bandy, *Inscriptions*, no. 23, 50–51. See also Isabella Baldini Lippolis and Giulio Vallarino, "Gortyn: From City of the Gods to Christian City," in *Cities and Gods: Religious Space in Transition*, ed. Ted Kaizer, Anna Leone, Edmund Thomas and Robert Witcher, Bulletin antieke beschaving Supplement 22 (Leuven: Peeters, 2013), 103–119.

62 Baldini et al., "Gortina," 265–272.

63 Di Vita, *Gortina di Creta*, 198, fig. 274; Bandy, *Inscriptions*, no. 36, 65–66. Bandy read the inscription as follows: "Bless, Lord, thy house, Lord, and jars, Thou Who didst bless the five loaves and the two fish. Lord, celestially born Lord, Bless thy table." A silver miliaresion of Constantine VI (780–797) is the latest coin from this complex, found in a silo.

64 Baldini et al., "Gortina," 259–260, fig. 10–11 and fig. 18.

65 *Vita Stephani Junioris* §58. Marie-France Auzépy, ed. and trans., *La Vie d'Étienne le Jeune par Étienne le Diacre*, Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs 3 (Aldershot: Variorum, 1997), 160. Salvatore Cosentino has recently argued that the Praetorium was transferred from Gortyn to Heraklion, reawakening the old debate as to whether the author of the *vita* refers to Emperor Herakleios or the city of Heraklion. See Baldini et al., "Gortina," 246 (S. Cosentino); Salvatore Cosentino, "From Gortyn to Heraklion? A Note on Cretan Urbanism During the eighth Century," *Byzantina Symmeikta* 29 (2019): 73–89. The view that the reference is to the emperor seems to me to be the most convincing: thus, already Menelaos Parlamas, "Τοπωνυμικαί περιπέτειαι του Ηρακλείου," *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 8 (1954): 273–286. Moreover, there is no indication that the capital of Crete was transferred from Gortyn to Heraklion before the Arab conquest.

66 Judith Herrin, "Crete in the Conflicts of the Eighth Century," in *Αφιέρωμα στον Νίκο Σβορώνο*, ed. Vasiles Kremmydas, Chryssa Maltezou, and Nikolaos M. Panagiotakes (Rethymnon: Panepistemio Kretes, 1986), I.113–126. Panayotis Yannopoulos, "Ορισμένα προβλήματα από την ιστορία της μεσοβυζαντινής Κρήτης προ της αραβικής κατοχής," in *Proceedings of the 7th International Cretological Congress, Rethymnon* 1991, II.1.175–192 (Rethymnon: Demos Rethymnes, 1995). Cf. Tibor Živković, "Uspenskij's Taktikon and the Theme of Dalmatia," *Byzantina Symmeikta* 17 (2008): 49–85.

67 Dimitris Tsougarakis, "The Byzantine Seals of Crete," in *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography* 2, ed. Nicolas Oikonomides (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1990), 137–152, here at 146–147, nos. 16–23.

68 Roberto Perna, *L'acropoli di Gortina: La tavola "A" della carta archeologica della città di Gortina*, Ichnia, Ser. 2, 6 (Macerata: Università degli Studi di Macerata, 2012), 192. See discussion below.

69 Di Vita, *Gortina di Creta*, 240–258.

70 Jean-Pierre Sodini, "La naissance de l'habitat médiéval en méditerranée byzantine: Le cas de Gortyne (VIe –VIIIe s.)," in *Creta romana e protobizantina: Atti del congresso internazionale (Iraklion, 23–30 settembre 2000)*, ed. Monica Livadiotti and Ilaria Simiakaki (Padua: Bottega d'Erasmo, 2004), II.669–686, here at 676–677.

71 Enrico Zanini, "Città, microterritorio e macroterritorio (e mobilità degli uomini) nel Mediterraneo proto-bizantino: Il caso di Gortina di Creta," in *Geografie del popolamento: Casi di studio, metodi, teorie*, ed. Giancarlo Macchi Jánica (Siena: Edizioni dell'università, 2009), 111–122.

72 Emma Vitale, *La ceramica sovradipinta bizantina de Gortina*, Studi di Archeologia Cretese 6 (Padua: Bottega d'Erasmo, 2008).

73 Platon Petridis, "Les productions protobyzantines de céramique peinte en Grèce continentale et dans les îles," in *Actas del VIII Congreso Internacional de Cerámica Medieval en el Mediterráneo, Ciudad Real-Almagro, del 27 de febrero al 3 de marzo de 2006*, ed. Juan Zozaya, Manuel Retuerce, Miguel Ángel Hervás, and Antonio de Juan (Ciudad Real: Asociación Española de Arqueología Medieval, 2009), I.39–48, here at 45.

74 Mary Gough, ed., *Alahan: An Early Christian Monastery in Southern Turkey* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1985), 41–47, pls. 75–84.

75 Marrou, "L'origine," 105–107, fig. 2.

76 Enrico Zanini et al., "The Excavation of the Early Byzantine District near the Pythion in Gortyn (Field Seasons 2011–2013): An Image of the End of the Mediterranean City," in *Archaeological Work in Crete 3, Proceedings of the 3rd Meeting, Rethymnon, 5–8 December 2013,* vol. 1, ed. Pavlina Karanastasi, Anastasia Tzigounaki, and Christina Tsigonaki (Rethymnon: Panepistimio Kretes, 2015), 565–574. Enrico Zanini, "Macro -Economy, Micro-Ecology, and the Fate of Urbanized Landscape in Late Antiquity and Early Byzantine Crete," in *Change and Resilience: The Occupation of Mediterranean Islands in Late Antiquity*, ed. Miguel Ángel Cau Ontiveros and Catalina Mas Florit, Joukowsky Institute Publication 9 (Oxford: Oxbow, 2019), 139–162, here at 154–158.

77 Wolfgang Brandes, "Byzantine Cities in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries – Different Sources, Different Histories?" in *The Idea and Ideal of the Town between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Gian Pietro Brogiolo and Bryan Ward-Perkins (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 27–57, here at 30.

78 Tonia Kiousopoulou, *Οι "αόρατες" βυζαντινές πόλεις στον ελλαδικό χώρο (13ος-15ος αιώνας)* (Athens: Polis, 2013), 77–80.

79 Perna, *Acropoli di Gortina*, 101–126; Perna, "Γόρτυνα.", 520-523.

80 Stanley et al., "Service Access," 135–137.

81 *Vita Andreae Cretensis*, 391.201–203.

82 Tsigonaki, "Πόλεων ἀνελπίστοις μεταβολαῖς," 87. Vassilios Christides had previously suggested that the fortress of Drimeos should be sought in the town of Einatos (modern Tsoutsouros) on the south-eastern coast of Crete: *The Image of Cyprus in the Arabic Sources* (Nicosia: Archbishop Makarios III Foundation, 2006), 55–56. However, it seems rather unlikely that Gortyn's residents would travel all that distance to the coast, and so be even closer to the attacking Arabs. A most fascinating question – but one that cannot be answered with certainty – is whether the name of *Τοῦ Δριμέως* preserved in the Byzantine text is a corruption of the word *Ἑρμαῖος* (Hermaios).

83 Tsigonaki, "Crete, a Border," 168–172.

84 Di Vita, *Gortina di Creta*, 337–339.

85 Perna, *Acropoli di Gortina*, 91–99, fig. 54. Giorgi, *Archeologia dell'acqua*, 203–205.

86 Giovanni Rizza and Valnea Santa Maria Scrinari, *Il santuario sull'acropoli di Gortina*, Monografie della Scuola Archaeologica die Atene 2 (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1968), 68–96. Di Vita, *Gortina di Creta*, 334–337.

87 Rizza and Santa Maria Scrinari, *Santuario*, 118–119, fig. 198, 3; Tsougarakis, "Byzantine Seals," 148, no. 30.

88 Athanasios Kalpaxis, "Η πόλη της Αρχαίας Ελεύθερνας και η εγγύτερη οικιστική της περιοχή," in *Ελεύθερνα II.2. Ένα ελληνιστικό σπίτι ("Σπίτι Α") στη θέση Νησί*, ed. Athanasios Kalpaxis (Rethymnon: Panepistmio Kretes, 1994), 17–21.

89 Athanasios Kalpaxis, "Οι 'Ακροπόλεις' της Ελεύθερνας: Κεντρικός ανασκαφικός τομέας II," in *Ελεύθερνα: Πόλη, Ακρόπολη, Νεκρόπολη*, ed. Nikolaos Chr. Stampolidis (Athens: Ministry of Culture, 2004), 104–115.

90 Jean Darrouzès, *Notitiae episcopatuum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* (Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1981), 235.

91 Petros Themelis, ed., *Ancient Eleutherna: Sector I, Volume 1* (Athens: Scripta, 2009); Petros Themelis, ed., *Πρωτοβυζαντινή Ελεύθερνα, Τομέας I, Πρώτος τόμος* (Athens: Panepistemio Kretes, 2004).

92 The church of Christ the Saviour was constructed during the Middle Byzantine period (second half of the twelfth century to the first half of the thirteenth century). The church of Saint John was added to its southern sector during the sixteenth century: Nikos Tsivikis, "Αναζητήσεις στη Μεσαιωνική Ελεύθερνα: Ο διπλός ναός του Σωτήρα Χριστού και του Αγίου Ιωάννη και το Μοναστήρι της Ελεύθερνας," in *ΘΕΜΕΛΙΟΝ: 24 μελέτες για τον δάσκαλο Πέτρο Θέμελη από τους μαθητές και τους συνεργάτες του*, ed. Elisavet Sioumpara and Kyriakos Psaroudakis (Athens: Society of Messenian Archaeological Studies, 2013), 345–365.

93 Christina Tsigonaki, "Un atelier local de sculpture architecturale dans la région de Mylopotamos (Crète centrale): Les trois chapiteaux paléochrétiens d'Éleftherna," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 122 (1998): 357–372.

94 Tsigonaki, Christina, "Les villes crétoises aux VIIe et VIIIe siècles: L'apport des recherches archéologiques à Eleutherna," *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene* 84 (2007): 263–297, fig. 6.

95 Themelis, *Πρωτοβυζαντινή Ελεύθερνα*, 46–67; Themelis, *Ancient Eleutherna,* 80–92. Tsigonaki, "Villes crétoises," 270–271. For an analysis of the skeletal remains, see Chryssi Bourbou, *The People of Early Byzantine Eleutherna and Messene (6th–7th Centuries A.D.): A Bioarchaeological Approach* (Athens: University of Crete, 2004).

96 Anastasia G. Yangaki, *La céramique des IVe - VIIIe siècles ap. J.-C. d'Eleutherna: Sa place en Crète et dans le bassin égéen* (Athens: Panepistemio Kretes, 2005), 310–313. The minor objects include bronze belt buckles dating from the mid-seventh century to the eighth century: Natalia Poulou-Papadimitriou, "Les plaques-boucles byzantines de l'île de Crète (fin VIe –IXe siècle)," In Mélanges Jean-Pierre Sodini, edited by François Baratte, Vincent Déroche, Catherine

Jolivet-Lévy and Brigitte Pitarakis, Travaux and Mémoires 15, 687–704. Paris: Association des Amis du Centre d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, 2005.

97 Kleanthis Sidiropoulos, "Νομισματικά ευρήματα," in *Πρωτοβυζαντινή Ελεύθερνα, Τομέας I, Δεύτερος τόμος*, ed. Petros Themelis (Rethymnon: Panepistemio Kretes, 2000), 263–287.

98 Themelis, *Πρωτοβυζαντινή Ελεύθερνα*, 64–65; Themelis, *Ancient Eleutherna,* 81, 90, fig. 52.

99 Themelis, *Ancient Eleutherna*, 76–78.

100 Christina Tsigonaki, "Οι ανασκαφές του Πανεπιστημίου Κρήτης στην Ακρόπολη της Ελεύθερνας (Τομέας II, Κεντρικός)," in *Archaeological Work in Crete 3, Proceedings of the 3rd Meeting, Rethymnon, 5–8 December 2013, vol. 2: Chania, Rethymno, Lassithi*, ed. Pavlina Karanastasi, Anastasia Tzigounaki, and Christina Tsigonaki (Rethymnon: Faculty of Letters Publications, University of Crete, 2015), 391–406, here at 402–404; Tsigonaki, "Crete, a Border," 172–175.

101 Tsigonaki, "Villes crétoises," 276–283; Tsigonaki, "Οι ανασκαφές," 393–398. For the graves of the Archangel Michael and the ceramic evidence, see Anastasia G. Yangaki, "Οι τάφοι," in *Πρωτοβυζαντινή Ελεύθερνα, Τομέας I*, *Πρώτος τόμος*, ed. Petros Themelis (Athens: Panepistemio Kretes, 2004), 115–145.

102 Tsigonaki, "Οι ανασκαφές," 398–399.

103 Christina Tsigonaki and Anastasia Yangaki, "Οι αρχαιολογικές έρευνες του Τομέα II στις Δεξαμενές της Ελεύθερνας και η μαρτυρία της κεραμικής," in *Archaeological Work in Crete 3, Proceedings of the 3rd Meeting, Rethymnon, 5–8 December 2013, vol. 2: Chania, Rethymno, Lassithi*, ed. Pavlina Karanastasi, Anastasia Tzigounaki, and Christina Tsigonaki (Rethymnon: Faculty of Letters Publications, University of Crete, 2015), 429–448.

104 Tsigonaki, "Villes crétoises," 288 and fig. 17, no. 16. For the Arabic coin see: Tsigonaki, Christina, "Οι ανασκαφές του Πανεπιστημίου Κρήτης στην Ακρόπολη της Αρχαίας Ελεύθερνας (Τομέας II, Κεντρικός) κατά την περίοδο 2013-2016," in *Archaeological Work in Crete 4, Proceedings of the 4th Meeting, Rethymnon, 24–27 November 2016*, vol. 2, ed. Pavlina Karanastasi, Anastasia Tzigounaki, and Christina Tsigonaki (Rethymnon: Ministry of Culture and Sports – Ephorate of Antiquities of Rethymnon, 2020), 691–710, here at 705–707.

105 Yangaki, *Céramique*, 88–100.

106 Vujadin Ivanišević, "Main Patterns of Urbanism in Caričin Grad," in *New Cities in Late Antiquity: Documents and Archaeology*, ed. Efthymios Rizos, Bibliothèque de l'Antiquité Tardive 35 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), 221–232.

107 Georges Kiourtzian, "L'incident de Cnossos (fin septembre / début octobre 610)," in *Constructing the Seventh Century*, ed. Constantin Zuckerman, Travaux et Mémoires 17 (Paris: Association des Amis du Centre d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, 2013), 173–196.

108 Tsigonaki, "Crete, a Border," 184–185.

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8 A tale of two cities

Thebes and Chalcis in a world of change (ninth to fifteenth centuries)[1]

Nikos D. Kontogiannis

Central Greece during the Byzantine era has often been summarily and perhaps simplistically considered by earlier historians as a primarily agrarian backwater, coming to the forefront only when accidentally mentioned in relation to central figures and religious events (Figure 8.1).[2] Thebes, its administrative capital, was otherwise known from a handful of sources, mainly related to local landowners;[3] it gradually came out of obscurity thanks both to archaeological research and to the long-term work of David Jacoby on its silk industry.[4] Nearby Chalcis was long overlooked as an insignificant provincial town that came to the forefront only after the Latin Conquest, when

Figure 8.1 Map of Central Greece with Thebes and Chalcis. Image produced by the author.

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it was turned into an international port of call known as Negroponte in the Venetian maritime empire.[5] In this case, as well, recent work has proved that Byzantine Chalcis was indeed a substantial industrial centre, whose products (along with the agricultural surplus of the whole region) were shipped from here to harbours around the Aegean, and beyond.[6]

We now know in addition that the inhabitants of the two cities collaborated closely. All evidence (material culture, artistic production, architectural forms, and archival sources) points to an exceptional affinity, a shared "special bond." The residents of Chalcis and Thebes apparently tried to maintain this bond even in the face of the political upheavals at the end of the twelfth century and after the events of the Fourth Crusade (1204).

However, the Fourth Crusade initiated a period of roughly two and a half centuries during which the two cities became politically distinct and socioeconomically separate entities.[7] Thebes grew into the seat of a state (and then a dukedom) that passed consecutively from the hands of Burgundians to Catalans, Navarrese, and Florentines. Chalcis gradually came under Venetian rule, and served as an international maritime colony. These divergent political conditions also gradually influenced the civic conditions and the urban fabric of both cities.

In the following, I focus on neighbourhood formation in these two adjacent (and to a large extent complementary) city centres of central Greece: first under Byzantine rule (from the ninth through the twelfth centuries), and then under the Latin dominion (from the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries). This is based on evidence deriving from more than 50 years of rescue excavations, as perceived under the retrospective light of our current spatial and socio-economic understanding. In this way, Byzantine neighbourhoods may be defined according to their function (residential, administrative, and industrial) and their place within the urban landscape. Within this framework, the alterations brought about under Latin rule will be better understood and brought into the discourse. Finally, it is hoped that based on this material, we might envisage how neighbourhoods responded to political changes throughout these six centuries.

The settlements during the middle Byzantine period

Both cities were extensive antique settlements. Thebes was an urban settlement already from the Early Bronze Age. It extended over an area of low hills, with the epicentre always located on the highest one, known as Kadmeia. Strategically located almost at the centre of Boeotia, the hills were surrounded by the rivers Ismenos and Dirki, along with a number of natural springs. In this way, Kadmeia was an advantageous site, since it was both naturally protected and controlled the main overland routes crossing the Boeotia, linking southern Greece with the rest of the peninsula.

The area of Chalcis has been inhabited since at least the Late Bronze Age, owing its strategic importance to its position by the Euripos Channel:

a narrow gulf that separates the Greek mainland from the island of Euboea, forming the only secure naval route across the Aegean coast of Greece. However, until the sixth and seventh centuries AD, the city lay mainly to the south of the strait, and spread around the bay of Ayios Stefanos and the twin hills (Arethousa and Kalogritsa) of Mt. Vathrovouni. At some point between the seventh and the ninth centuries, the city was transferred from this location to its medieval site, next to the Euripos Channel. In this way, it lay on the narrowest point of the Channel, with direct access to Boeotia through the Euripos Bridge, and with access to harbours in the north and the south. The only side open to the Euboea mainland was cut off by walls and a moat, turning the city virtually into an island.[8]

The decision to relocate Chalcis seems to have been made by imperial authorities, since within the framework of middle Byzantine administration, Thebes became the designated capital of the reorganized Theme of Hellas, while Chalcis acted as the port of the Theme.[9] Between the ninth and the twelfth centuries, the "special bond" between the two cities was achieved through a matrix of economic, social, and political features, which can be traced down to the level of urban neighbourhoods. In both cities, similar patterns emerge on the basis of material culture and the concentration of activities. These, in turn, can help define the prevailing characters of various parts of the cities: administrative, residential, industrial, etc.

In Thebes, the nucleus of the city always remained on the Kadmeia hill, which was surrounded by walls restored at least twice during this period (Figure 8.2).[10] The north-south axis seems to have played an important role in the city's urban topography. Rescue excavations within the enclosure have located walls of this period in more than 60 different sites, proving that almost the whole area was occupied with buildings.[11] Buildings located along the north-south axis have better quality masonry, stronger walls built with cut stones (many in secondary use), and brick bands, occasionally forming a loose *cloisonné* (Figure 8.3). These traits clearly distinguish them from the lateral parts of the settlement, whose buildings possess weaker masonry, built with rubble and earth. Very rarely have these complexes been revealed in their entirety or studied thoroughly. In most cases, we remain ignorant of their extension, boundaries, or the full range of finds; and thus also of their function, and the social standing of their inhabitants.

Substantial remains of the Middle Byzantine period have also been excavated all around Kadmeia, within the area defined by the surrounding hills and two rivers (Chrisoroas and Dirki).[12] A number of them had clear signs of industrial use (water mills, ceramic workshops, dye workshops, etc.), while others were living quarters, or could even have a mixed use.[13] In all cases, these mortared walls were built primarily with rubble stones and chipped bricks at the joins; most of them were dated from the eleventh century onwards, their usage period going up to the early fourteenth century.

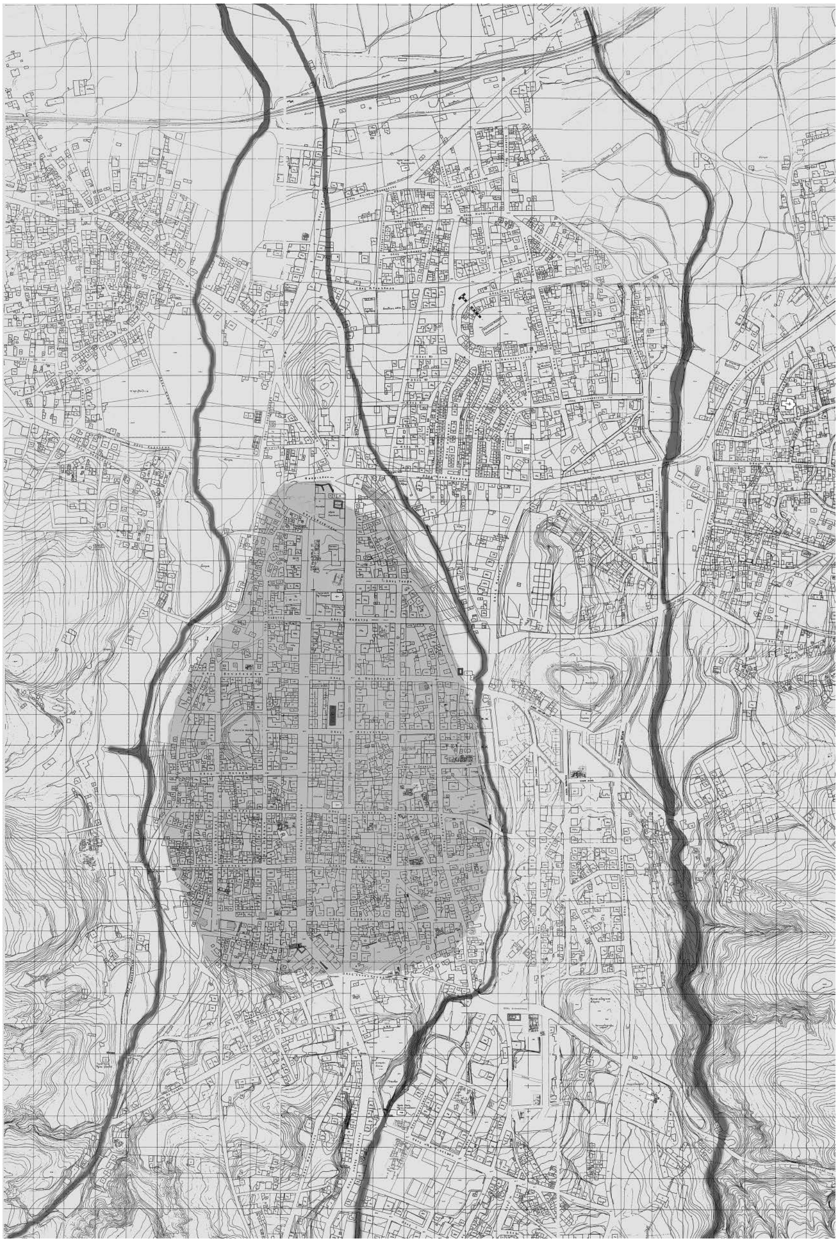


Figure 8.2 Thebes, plan of the city. Source: Archive of the Ephorate of Boeotia.

Figure 8.3 Thebes, excavation of public building remains along the North-South axis, near its northern end. Photo: Archive of the Ephorate of Boeotia.

More than 30 churches have been either preserved or identified in various excavations within and outside Kadmeia, most of which operated during the twelfth century.[14] Few were substantial monuments, such as the ninth-century Ayios Grigorios Theologos in the southern part of Kadmeia (along its main axis, Figure 8.4).[15] The rest are small structures: some are three-aisled, but most are single-naved chapels; all were used for burials and were integrated into their adjoining house complexes. Besides the churches, the most significant public works belonged to the water supply/sewage system, and were detected both within and outside Kadmeia. They included diverse structures, such as an aqueduct, attributed to the twelfth-century Metropolitan Bishop Ioannis Kaloktenis; a dense network of pipelines and shafts, variously interpreted as serving water supply or sewage, without however providing evidence for their exact function; finally, a partially unearthed bathhouse to the south of the Kadmeia with finds from the tenth through the thirteenth centuries.[16]

In Chalcis, the eighth/ninth-century walls defined the major part of the settlement during the whole period in question (Figure 8.5).[17] Two clusters of houses have been discovered within the walls, one at Ayia Varvara (Figure 8.5, No. 5) and the other at Ayia Paraskevi (Figure 8.5, No. 23).[18] The former lies close to the land walls and the north harbour. During the ninth and tenth centuries, both areas were densely inhabited with complexes of small rooms aligned one next to the other. Finds included luxurious objects from

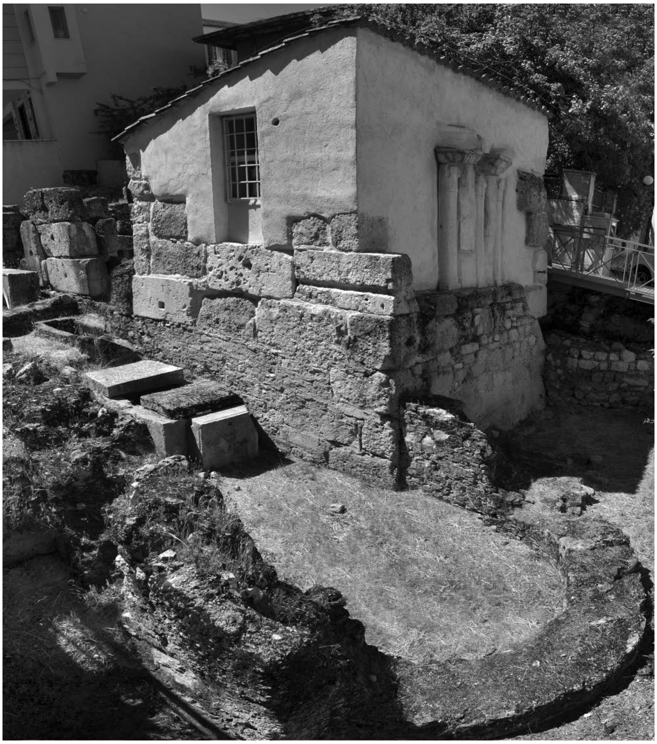


Figure 8.4 Thebes, Ayios Grigorios Thelogos. Photo: Archive of the Ephorate of Boeotia.

the capital, such as polychrome ceramics and ivory items. In Ayia Varvara, during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, houses with elaborate façades were built, some made of porous blocks and displaying pseudo-Kufic ornaments. The latter is an indication that perhaps there were also some religious buildings in the area, an idea supported by the sporadic finds of architectural sculpture.[19]

A third area along the main road linking the two gates of the city had multiple storage facilities on a scale much larger than what is needed for domestic consumption, pointing perhaps to commercial use (Figure 8.5, Nos. 20 and 32).[20] Recent work has also uncovered a substantial installation, outside the walls, which was continuously in use from the ninth up to the fourteenth centuries, and was used initially as a bathhouse and then as a pottery workshop (Figures 8.5, No. 24, and 8.6).[21] Finally, a monolithic ornamental archway, dating to the ninth century, and unfortunately, found out of context, indicates the presence of a large church, serving perhaps the bishop of the city.[22]

Figure 8.5 Chalcis, plan of the city. After Kontogiannis and Skartsis eds, *Venetian and Ottoman Heritage in the Aegean: The 'Bailo House' in Chalcis*, ACSHA 8 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020).

Defining the Byzantine neighbourhoods

On the basis of these finds, a picture of the Byzantine neighbourhood in Thebes and Chalcis emerges as a dynamically developed cluster of buildings, with no apparent pattern or standard size; it is framed by natural or manmade limits (walls, streets, rivers, or coasts). We can only tentatively differentiate between the two broadly defined types of neighbourhood, the residential and the industrial, with shared features in both cities. This tentative distinction is based on the predominant activities detected in each area, based on the archaeological record, with some excavations revealing almost exclusively domestic contexts, and others including also industrial

Figure 8.6 Chalcis, excavation of installation (bathhouse and ceramic workshop) outside the walls. Photo: Archive of the Ephorate of Euboea.

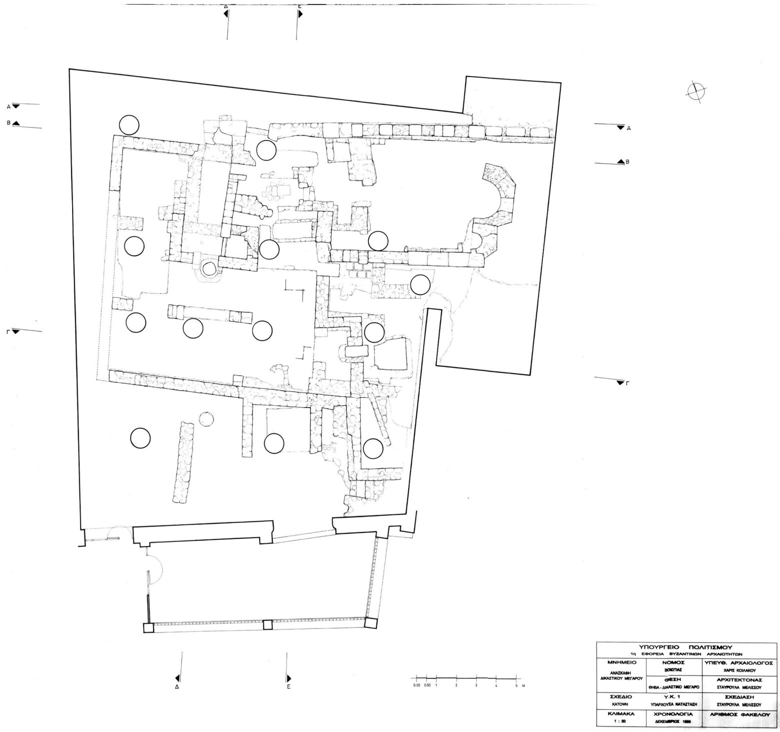
installations. In some cases, however, the situation seems to have been more complex, and this distinction should not be applied too rigidly. For example, artisanal activities, like weaving, can occur almost undetected within a domestic complex, as in an intra muros case in Thebes (see below); some industrial activities could be established within a pre-existing structure (as in the ceramic workshop of Chalcis mentioned above). Nevertheless, differentiation based on the predominant activity is the only potential distinction offered by the material present at hand.

When it comes to "residential" neighbourhoods, buildings with more elaborate masonry and finds that bespeak higher social status – often linked to the capital – are always found within the walls. In Thebes, they are located along the main north-south axis of Kadmeia, where a district of social and administrative significance can be identified.[23] In Chalcis, they are to be found in the neighbourhood of Ayia Varvara and along the main city road.

In the other neighbourhoods, however, the poor quality of masonry may lead to false conclusions about the identity of the inhabitants. The finds, especially the grave goods in nearby churches, do not speak of a destitute population. These were simply ordinary urban structures, whose walls would be plastered. Although in Chalcis such neighbourhoods have been detected mainly within the walls, in Thebes the eruption of extra muros building activity has been attributed alternatively to the coming of refugees, the new presence of specific groups (Venetians, Jews), or the augmentation of the general population due to economic activity.[24]

In a single case, the excavator has combined archaeological and textual evidence to identify a neighbourhood known from written sources.[25] The area excavated to the south of Kadmeia and outside the walls was densely occupied from the eleventh to the mid-thirteenth centuries with houses and rooms of various size (Figure 8.7). Among them lay a small church complex, which was dedicated to Archangel Michael according to preserved

(a)



(b)

Figure 8.7 (a) Thebes, excavation of neighbourhood remains *Gyrion*, outside the walls. Plan of the excavation. Source: Archive of the Ephorate of Boeotia. (b) Thebes, excavation of neighbourhood remains *Gyrion*, outside the walls. Current state. Source: Archive of the Ephorate of Boeotia.

inscriptions. It was recognized as the female monastery mentioned in the *typikon* (charter) of the Virgin Naupaktiotissa confraternity, a lay devotional brotherhood founded in Thebes in 1048.[26] The confraternity promoted the veneration of the icon of the Virgin, held in the church of Archangel Michael, at the nunnery of the Naupaktos women, in the neighbourhood (*geitonian*) of Gyrion.[27] The mention of the Naupaktos women has been perceived as a reflection of immigration to the city of Thebes: Nesbitt and Wiita spoke of a colony of Naupaktians, who potentially immigrated to Thebes following the upheavals in West Central Greece in the first half of the eleventh century.[28] Should the area around the church complex be identified as the Gyrion neighbourhood, as proposed by Koilakou,[29] then we can potentially attribute to it a set of shared features: the provenance of some of its inhabitants (Naupaktos), a cultic practice (veneration of the icon), and also the place where this cult was exercised (the monastery).

The same document may allow us a more profound view of the matrix of relations among the Theban neighbourhoods. The confraternity was established in 1048 and was renewed sometime before 1147. At the time of its renewal, the document was signed by 49 members, 20 of whom were clergymen; of the remaining laymen, 26 were men and 3 women.[30] Nesbitt and Wiita studied the prosopography of those mentioned therein, which included members of prominent families, such as Leobachoi and Kamateros; important local figures, such as the Bishop of Thebes and the Abbot of the Hosios Loukas monastery; people of apparently modest means (with some of their last names related to trades: silk manufacture, smiths, and soap makers); finally, people from other places (Adrianople, Anatolikon, Corinth, Anchilos of Euripos) who may have, either on their own or with family, immigrated or travelled to Thebes.[31]

Each of the members undertook to host the icon in a different church for a month. The confraternity would assemble there on the first day of the following month and would process with the icon to the next place that would house it. The goal was for all members to have the opportunity to host the icon in their own churches, celebrating bi-weekly masses.[32] Furthermore, the relationship among members was defined metaphorically through kinship terms, that is, by participating in the confraternity they became brothers obliged to provide to each other with care, respect, support in times of need, prayer and assistance with burial.[33] According to Neville, the people mentioned in the Confraternity *typikon* should not be perceived as individuals (as was the case before), but as heads and representatives of their respective households, with the obligations extending to all members of the household.[34]

Neville's interpretation combined with the *typikon*'s clear provision regarding the hosting of the icon by each member (see: household) church and its processional movement once a month to another member (household) church within the city, can help reconstruct admirably the social and spatial arrangements among the city's neighbourhoods, as correlated with the archaeological data. Taking into consideration the large number of chapels scattered within and outside the walls, we can, in fact, recreate the image of neighbourhoods located in different parts of the city, each accommodating an undefined number of large households, including their own chapels. A set of obligations (expressed in kinship terms) connects these households (i.e., the inhabitants of their respective neighbourhoods). These links were continuously reaffirmed and performed through the processions that transferred the icon once a month to a different household church in another neighbourhood of the city.

As for the "industrial" neighbourhoods, these have so far been identified mainly outside the walls in both cities. This could be due to a number of reasons: legal constraints, safety hazards, need for extra space, access to water. Such was the case of the dye workshops to the north and west of Kadmeia, which were identified based on excavated wells (circular tanks of shallow depressions hewn into the rock), and hearths with ashes.[35] Furthermore, the modern place name for one of them, *Evraika* (Jewish), and the fact that Benjamin of Tudela specifically mentioned that the Jews were among the finest silk workers, led to the proposal that this was an industrial neighbourhood inhabited by Jews.[36] This theory is however difficult to assess since there were no finds that could be particularly related to Jewish identity.

The presence of another (silk or leather?) workshop has been recognized within the Kadmeia walls of Thebes. This was an elaborately built complex along the central axis of the city identified as a workshop on the basis of the unusually high number of storage cavities, and its complex water pipe system, since the processing of the cocoons or the tanning of leather would require large quantities of water.[37] Louvi-Kizi observed that similar formations were randomly excavated in nearby plots to the east part of the walled settlement, and consequently, identified them as workshops. These discoveries, hence, supported the idea of an industrial neighbourhood located apparently between the central north-south city axis and the eastern city wall.

As already mentioned, in Chalcis, a rescue excavation outside the walls has revealed an installation that has been interpreted as a bathhouse that was later used as a ceramic workshop (Figure 8.6).[38] Due to the confined space of the excavation and the lack of evidence from the wider area, it is impossible to say whether this was an isolated activity or a part of an area with similar installations. The workshop manufactured mainly glazed tableware, for which Chalcis has recently been acknowledged as a major production centre.[39]

Based on the existing evidence, as summarized above, Byzantine neighbourhoods appear to be the result of complex and dynamic processes, in which a variety of factors affect and regulate their location, formation, components, and also their relations with other neighbourhoods. Some of these factors could be deduced on the basis of relatively constant preferences, such as the proximity to resources for some industrial activities. Others could be derived from the written sources, such as the installation of refugees outside the walls, or from the material culture, which indicates specific neighbourhoods of a higher status and in close relation with the central authority. In the exceptional case of the Thebes confraternity, we can witness how leading members of different neighbourhoods interacted and developed bonds of commitment among themselves under religious auspices. We also get a rare glimpse of the processions that would act as a connecting bridge between people and places, leading from the household chapel of one neighbourhood to another once a month, bringing the respective inhabitants into close contact and communication.

Alterations and additions during the Frankish period

Following the Fourth Crusade, the political fortunes of the two cities eventually diverged, with Chalcis coming under Lombard and Venetian rule, and Thebes first under Frankish and then Catalan rule. The primary factor affecting urban topography seems to have been the arrival of new settlers, this time not as refugees but as a ruling class.

In Thebes, the erection of the first civic fortification in Kadmeia in 1287 marked a dramatic change. We know this as the Castle of Saint-Omer, from the Chronicle of the Morea, whose earliest version is traced back to a copy held in that same Castle.[40] Today, the lower part of a huge tower is all that remains from that complex (Figure 8.8).[41] Elaborate palatial ruins are also preserved in the central part of Kadmeia, confirming that the earlier

Figure 8.8 Thebes, Tower St. Omer. Photo: Archive of the Ephorate of Boeotia

Figure 8.9 Thebes, palatial remains in the centre of Kadmeia. Photo: Archive of the Ephorate of Boeotia.

administrative district was maintained by the newcomers (Figure 8.9).[42] A Latin Cathedral took over the southern part of the district, next to a metal workshop that perhaps served as the mint of the duchy.[43] The Chronicle of Muntaner records the early fourteenth-century gatherings and extravagant celebrations of richly dressed knights in the palace and the Cathedral of Estives (as Thebes was called during this period).[44]

The coming of the Catalans in 1311 profoundly altered the social topography of the city.[45] This was not a class of noblemen replacing the previous administration in cities and countryside, as in the case of the Franks. They were a community of mercenaries and burgesses that settled solely in the urban centres, followed the Usages of (their native) Barcelona, and adhered to a strong collective identity by participating in the governing body of the city, known as *communes or universitates.*[46] They were legally segregated from the Greek inhabitants,[47] and probably occupied some of the intra muros neighbourhoods of Thebes. The official residences, such as the Castle of Saint-Omer, were initially offered to the noblemen, before they were destroyed in the course of internal conflicts.[48]

An important change can also be seen outside the walls, where many of the neighbourhoods show signs of abandonment, documented mainly through the date range of the ceramic finds.[49] However, there are no traces of immediate departure, violent disaster, widespread fire, or war. Furthermore, we cannot conclude that all areas were abandoned at the same time.

Instead, abandonment seems to have happened gradually and over an extended period until the end of the fourteenth century. From this point onwards, however, the city was mostly confined to the neighbourhoods within the walls.[50]

The situation in Chalcis followed a different path, at least in part. The Frankish settlers immediately created their own base of power to control both the city and the vital naval route of the Euboea Strait by erecting a fort, a Castrum, whose exact location and later history are still debated upon.[51] Noblemen and officials progressively settled and erected mansions that served as landmarks within the pre-existing urban fabric.[52] The city also expanded outside the enclosure, although the area, nature, and size of these neighbourhoods cannot be estimated on the basis of the few excavated plots (Figure 8.5, Nos. 34 and 38).[53] More important for the transformation of the civic landscape was the new neighbourhood assigned to the Venetians. In 1211, a *campus* (or *plateia*, that is, a "square") was established with a *fondaco* (merchant's inn-cum-warehouse) and a church dedicated to San Marco. This has always been envisaged as an open space with the church at the centre, and with the sides lined with shops, warehouses, and residences.[54] Even the words *fondaco* and *campo* convey the impression that this was a new installation that followed Italian traditions.

The amazing story of the Venetian expansion and gradual take over of the city in the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was profoundly linked to urban topography, and has been illuminated by the works of David Jacoby and Pierre Mackay (Figure 8.10).[55] The major division ended up being between the Venetian and the Lombard districts, which were separated from each other by an internal wall. The Venetian district extended along the coastline, while the Lombard district occupied the part towards the mainland. The gates of the enclosure walls defined an inner network of streets that dissected the whole settlement and eventually separated neighbourhoods. The course of the major commercial artery, generically known as the *ruga maistra* (main street), and its three branches can be recreated with relative accuracy (Figure 8.5, Nos. 20, 30, and 31).

In the preserved documents (treaties and notary acts), neighbourhoods are designated based on landmarks (Figure 8.10).[56] These could be the mansions of wealthy lords, secular and religious administrative buildings (the *Vescovado*, the *Patriarcado*, the *Arsenale*), convents and churches (*San Domenico, Santa Maria dei Crociferi*), or other important structures.

The Jewish neighbourhood remained outside the walls until the middle of the fourteenth century. It was then relocated to the southern part of the Venetian district, and separated from the Christian population by yet another wall – thus acquiring some of the features of the later ghettos.[57] Maria Georgopoulou has already noted that this practice was followed in many cities of the Venetian maritime realm.[58] The result was a visible change to the urban fabric delimiting a neighbourhood with a distinct religious and ethnic character.

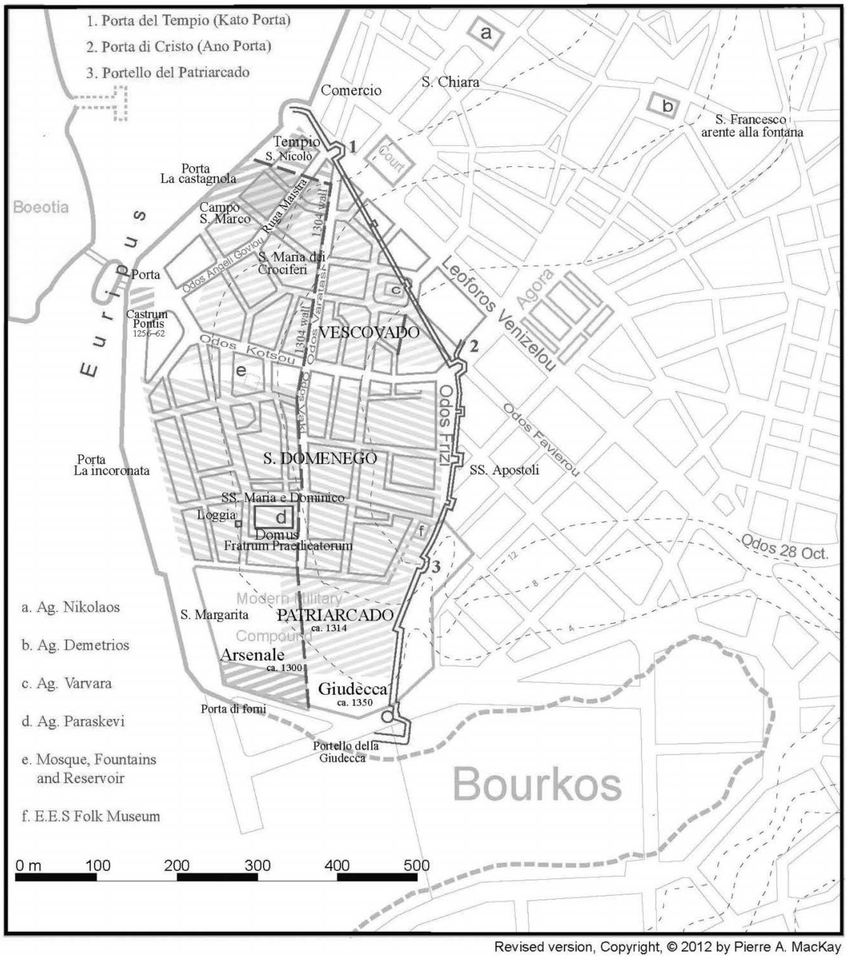


Figure 8.10 Chalcis, map of the city during the Lombard/Venetian era. Source: Pierre Mackay.

I will focus on one case, which I consider as a conscious initiative of the Venetian authorities to create a second Italian-type neighbourhood (following that of San Marco in 1211) within their territory during the fourteenth century (Figure 8.11). In the southern part of the Venetian district lies the Dominican Basilica (today Ayia Paraskevi, Figure 8.5, No. 23), and across the street a complex, locally known as the "Bailo House" (Figure 8.5, No. 29).[59] A recent restoration project at the House has disentangled a medieval gallery from later additions and annexes.[60] The original building had features, both formal and structural, of public architecture (Figure 8.12): it was

Figure 8.11 Chalcis, the Venetian Ayia Paraskevi neighbourhood: present condition (top), with the preserved Venetian wing (middle), and with a potential reconstruction of the original square (bottom). After Kontogiannis and Skartsis eds., *Venetian and Ottoman Heritage in the Aegean: The 'Bailo House' in Chalcis*, ACSHA 8 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020).

long and narrow with a semi-covered space on the ground floor regulated by a gothic colonnade (loggia), and a single hall on the first storey with wide openings (balcony or windows). Both the ground floor colonnade and the first-floor openings opened on the building's façade towards the square between the House and the Basilica. Furthermore, the reconstructed details of the wooden ceilings find direct parallels in Venetian palatial structures, and more specifically, in contemporary additions to the Doge's Palace.[61]

The preserved gallery of the Bailo House, along with its vanished annexes, formed a complex which, in fact, surrounded and regulated the open square between the House and the Basilica. Through the square ran one of the branches of the *ruga maistra*. The initial erection of the complex emerges, therefore, as a well-thought-out architectural and urban project. The quality of its construction, its placement within the settlement, and its size all point to the Venetian administration as the author of the plan.

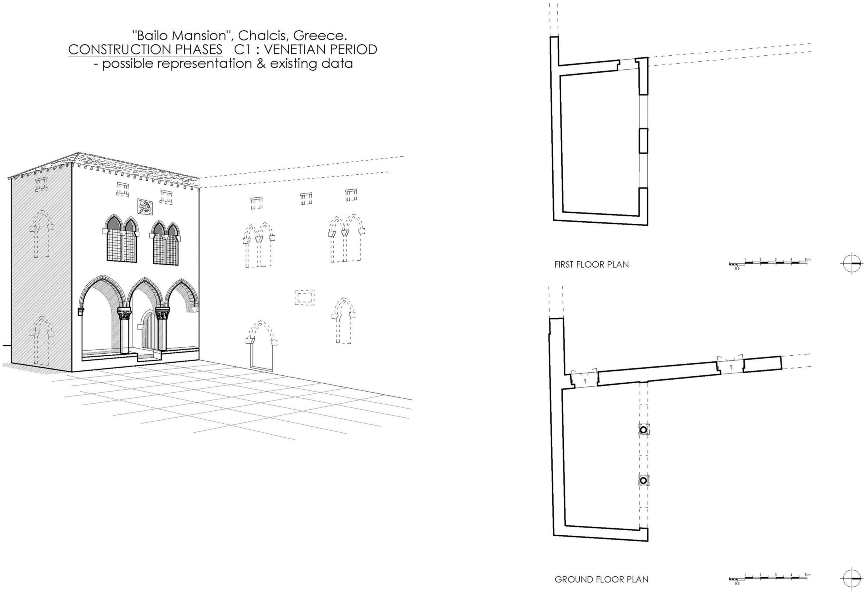


Figure 8.12 Chalcis, the Bailo House, reconstruction of the Venetian building phase. After Kontogiannis and Skartsis eds, *Venetian and Ottoman Heritage in the Aegean: The 'Bailo House' in Chalcis*, ACSHA 8 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020).

The resulting complex created one more centre in this part of the settlement directing movement and economic activity to the southern Venetian district.

This concentration of public and professional life in certain points of the settlement, where religious, commercial, administrative, and obviously political activities could be grouped, and consequently controlled and taxed, conforms to the standards of Venetian administration known both in Venice and in other colonies, especially Crete.[62] A number of fourteenth-century decrees for the Cretan capital, Chandax, both regulate the various professional groups, and describe the roles of various bodies of administrative controllers, as well as the infractions and the penalties imposed by them. For basic professions, such as the bakers and the goldsmiths, their place of work was allocated to the main square, or to the *ruga maistra* and the squares around it. These were the places where products and services could be checked by the controllers; thus, commercial activity was consciously channelled to distinct neighbourhoods of the city. Unfortunately, we do not possess an analogous body of regulations for Chalcis. We may, however, assume that the Bailo-Basilica square defined just one such neighbourhood in the Venetian district of Chalcis. We are also left in the dark as to the precise identity of the Bailo House, but can advance the hypothesis that such a central building might house one of the local government bodies.

How do neighbourhoods react?

It is not easy to describe the neighbourhoods' political responses to a world of continuous change, whether prompted by internal or external factors, peaceful or violent interventions. However, when examined over centuries, patterns emerge that prove both enduring and reliable.

The establishment and continuous use of Byzantine neighbourhoods despite the deficiencies in our knowledge of their boundaries, organization, and exact size seem to represent a conscious choice on the part of the inhabitants. Defensive walls played a primary role, defining the walled area as primary and that outside the walls as secondary. As a result, the positioning of the gates and the layout of the streets connecting these gates also played a significant part in the choice of neighbourhood location and function.

Specifically, streets connecting main gates indicate the primary areas of activity, whether commercial, social, or administrative. For Thebes, this was the administrative district; for Chalcis, the axis later known as the *ruga maistra*. Other residential neighbourhoods within the walls were perhaps positioned according to the activities of their members; one would expect, for example, sailors and merchants to reside closer to harbour gates, and craftsmen near their workshops or next to the gates leading to them. Extra muros residential neighbourhoods could have either a distinctive character (as potentially in the case of the Naupaktos immigrants residing in the Gyrion neighbourhood of Thebes), or be considered the result of overpopulation and prosperity.

As for the organization of spatial interaction within neighbourhoods, we may only assume that streets, spaces in front of houses, and churches would potentially serve as meeting points. Except for the main streets whose alignment would have been set by local authorities, all other spaces seem to have been dynamically formulated by the members of each neighbourhood, and are, therefore, difficult to analyse due to the lack of excavated data. Furthermore, no open spaces have been reported so far. As for the few attested public buildings (such as the two larger churches, the bathhouses, or the aqueduct of Thebes), based on the available evidence, it is impossible to say how they affected their surrounding neighbourhoods. Nevertheless, we may expect, especially in the case of industrial neighbourhoods, that water installations (such as the water pipes or river banks) would directly influence adjacent spatial arrangements.

The numerous small churches identified in Thebes often appear in the excavation record as integrally connected to nearby premises. Although it is impossible in most cases to state whether they were household, parish, or monastic churches, the information provided by the Virgin Naupaktiotissa *typikon* speaks mostly in favour of the first option (with the Gyrion church potentially serving as the *katholikon* of a small nunnery). Furthermore, the provisions of the document make it clear that these chapels played a special role in the social organization, movement between, and communication among the members of households, and by extension, among the city's neighbourhoods. At the same time, they also embodied a particular devotion and acted as meeting points for each neighbourhood, serving both as cultic foci (as was explicitly evident in the case of the miracle-working icon of Virgin and the Gyrion neighbourhood) and as burial sites for households.

After 1204, the change of rulers seems to have had little effect on the neighbourhoods of Thebes. In Chalcis, however, the extensive urban changes must have influenced the choices of residents. The two Italian-type neighbourhoods proved to be an urban intervention that certainly altered the traditional character of the civic matrix and created new focal points of social, economic, and political interaction. Eventually, their creation affected all the urban population, irrespective of ethnic differences (Greek, Venetians, Italians, Jews, etc.). Additionally, on two recorded occasions (1340 and 1353), Venetian authorities made concrete efforts to attract new Latin settlers who would revitalize and homogenize the population in their district and their neighbourhoods, after the losses incurred by the Black Death and a Veneto-Genoese war.[63] Sources also mention that refugees from various places, such as the Catalans and their Greek allies who were evicted from Thebes in 1379, took shelter in Chalcis.[64]

If we now try to examine how the inhabitants of neighbourhoods reacted to direct interventions by the central authority, whether the Byzantine, Frankish, Catalan, or Venetian government, we again come up with indications that can only have validity when examined in the *longue durée*. The main issue seems to be the tendency of neighbourhoods to conserve their social conditions and ensure their survival. In the eighth and ninth centuries, as mentioned above, local populations followed Byzantine government in large-scale decisions regarding the topography and management of their area. In Thebes, this may have led to the creation of the administrative district for accommodating officials. Chalcis was simply relocated as a city, to serve central policies. After that, both cities participated in the capital's economic network by receiving and buying products, some of which were precious and even unique.[65] Industrial neighbourhoods produced and exported to the empire's markets. The system was kept in balance over a long period through an accommodation whose specifics have been studied by Neville.[66]

However, neighbourhoods expressed a singular vitality when the time came to take full advantage of the political upheavals, such as the loss of Asia Minor to the Seljuks, and the civil war during the second half of the eleventh century. Following the apparent collapse of the capital's distribution and commercial networks, the Thebes-Chalcis economic matrix achieved a prominent place in the Aegean markets for more than a century. Jacoby has traced it in the case of the famous silk fabrics (prominent among which stands, in his opinion, the woven ground of the Mantle of Roger II) and interpreted it as the combination of social and professional groups (obviously the inhabitants of the various neighbourhoods).[67] The matrix's presence, function, and outreach throughout the Eastern Mediterranean markets has recently been established also for tableware pottery, with examples identified from various excavations and museum collections;[68] and the same holds for agricultural products, whose presence and distribution have been detected through their transport vessels.[69] This extraordinary economic activity should also be understood as political action since it entailed a series of initiatives that clearly required the agency and collaboration of various local actors; collaboration based on bonds of trust similar to the ones developed among the households (and neighbourhoods) involved in the Confraternity of Virgin Naupaktiotissa.

At the troubled end of the twelfth century, the two cities in unison made a series of political choices that at first glance are hard to understand, and were puzzling even to contemporary historians. First, they both abandoned Byzantine central authority and accepted Leo Sgouros as their overlord. This is how we could explain the peculiar fact that the short-lived state of Leo Sgouros, centred on Thebes, included only the central part of Euboea (the area of Chalcis), while the north and south part of the island remained under the Byzantine central authority.[70] Soon after 1204, the two cities again changed allegiance and swiftly submitted to Boniface of Montferrat, leading an indignant Niketas Choniates to declare that the people of Thebes accepted Boniface with open arms "like welcoming someone who returned home after a long absence."[71] "Grant joie" was similarly manifested during the reception of Latin Emperor Henry on his visits to Thebes and Chalcis in 1209.[72]

Indeed, this "opportunistic" behaviour can perhaps be better explained when viewed through the lens of the underlying economic and industrial necessities. As mentioned above, the two cities had developed and maintained throughout the twelfth century a far-reaching matrix of activities, eventually traced down to the neighbourhood level through production sites and relations between households. We can interpret their reaction as a bottom-up political response to a weakening imperial authority in Constantinople. That is, they were happy to accept rebels or foreigners as their leaders in order to maintain their own neighbourhood-based economic/industrial activities. In the end, they viewed the preservation of this matrix as more important than their allegiance to the Byzantine state.

After 1204, urban change or persistence reflects the interaction between the new authorities and the old inhabitants. The fact that many extra muros neighbourhoods of Thebes continued functioning through the thirteenth century, but were gradually abandoned in the course of the fourteenth century, has been interpreted as the contrast between good Frankish governance and the disastrous Catalan rule. However, it also demonstrates the political choice of the inhabitants to pursue better conditions when faced with adversity. They may even have considered leaving their neighbourhood as a temporary solution since some of them buried their valuables hoping to return one day.[73]

In Chalcis, we witnessed the change of the urban fabric both through the imposition of new landmarks, and the introduction of entire Italian-type neighbourhoods. The inhabitants of these neighbourhoods acquired political expression, especially after 1390, through the institution of a *Communitas* or *Universitas Negropontis*.[74] This was a collective body that represented the local population and included elite members from various walks of life, ethnic origins, and occupations. They spoke, most probably, also for the interests of the neighbourhoods and professional guilds, in the same way that the heads of the Jewish neighbourhood interacted with Venetian authority. Such prominent locals were depicted on the walls of the Dominican Basilica, at the centre of the Italian-type neighbourhood, conversing with Saint Andrew and wearing their most fashionable clothing.[75] Their extraordinary material culture has been fortunately preserved thanks to a series of hoards that were buried ahead of the Ottoman conquest, again, expressing the vain hope that this too would pass and normal life would resume.[76]

Nothing comparable has survived for Thebes from the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Nevertheless, a wealth of ceramic material proves that the city maintained its standing, its active local manufacture, and its connections to international production centres.[77] The leading citizens of Thebes, headed by the Catholic Archbishop, directly negotiated the surrender of their city to the Navarrese in 1360, thus choosing to pass from Catalan to Florentine rule.[78] A century later, in 1460, it was again the city's representatives who asked the Ottoman commanders to remove the last Florentine ruler, choosing instead direct subjection to Ottoman administration.[79] Hence, we are dealing with a consistent pattern in which the residents accept or request a change of rulers, proving that their allegiance to larger political formations was of secondary importance. Their decisions were dictated by self-oriented interests, namely the preservation of their sociocultural conditions, and the matrix of economic relations resulting also partly from neighbourhood-based industries.

Indeed, tracing the neighbourhoods of Thebes and Chalcis in their capacity as active political bodies, may shed light on, and make sense of, a number of seemingly unrelated facts and offer a deeper understanding of the urban landscape. The "Byzantine" neighbourhood emerges as a dynamically developed cluster of buildings, without clear evidence for central planning. In its chapels, it incorporated communal belief, household pride, and ancestral memory. It was a nuclear, independent community, whose main political concern was the self-preservation of its household members in the face of a distant imperial government. It was closely related to other neighbourhoods through socio-economic bonds and the arrangement of industries within the urban fabric; bonds that were eloquently recorded in kinship terms in the *typikon* of the Virgin Naupaktiotissa confraternity.

What appeared to historians as a surprising lack of allegiance, and notorious volatility in accepting new rulers (Leo Sgouros, the Franks, the Florentines, the Ottomans, etc.) may for once be explained as a political action that can be understood in pragmatic terms. In the eleventh century, Chalcis and Thebes had already profited from the wider conditions and had formed an economic matrix that acted in concert successfully. The basis for this new economic prosperity was neighbourhood-based industry. Henceforth, allegiance to central authority was regarded as secondary, while priority was placed on the maintenance of prosperity, and civic identity prevailed (with the two cities acting in concert). Despite the lack of direct evidence, by process of elimination, we can point to the neighbourhood as an equally decisive political unit as both province and city.

In fact, neighbourhoods managed to preserve their formation and basic functions, even though the local population was infiltrated by new groups after 1204. These were either relatively compact ones, as in the case of the Franks and Catalans in Thebes, or more dispersed, as with the various new settlers in Chalcis. Nevertheless, they all inhabited pre-existing parts of the urban fabric and maintained pre-existing settlement patterns.

The challenge to this model came, in the case of Chalcis alone, from the two Italian-type neighbourhoods. The one discussed in detail above, and dated to the fourteenth century, was built over a short period of time. Its planning included a religious and a secular public building, distributed around a central open space. This was the result of interaction between local needs and an omnipresent administration. Activities, whether social, commercial, or political, were concentrated on focal points, publicly displayed and orchestrated, at least to judge by the evidence preserved for Venetian Chandax. The inhabitants of these neighbourhoods are particularly difficult to trace in ethnic-religious terms since by this period Chalcis had become diverse and multicultural given its vital position in the wider Mediterranean networks.

Concluding this account, one has to note that the complex urban patterns witnessed in the provincial neighbourhoods of Thebes and Chalcis have long been neglected within the wider framework of Byzantine studies. Whether or not one chooses to neglect, downgrade, or simply ignore them, as the imperial government supposedly did, the fact remains that neighbourhoods had the political capacity to react, adjust, and ultimately survive in a continuously changing environment.

Notes

1 I would like to thank the volume editors for their invitation to present this material to the colloquium at Dumbarton Oaks, and for their tireless efforts to repeatedly revise the current text to yield eventually all the information that I was unable to see in the early drafts.

2 Such as the state journey of Basil II to Athens in 1018 – Anthony Kaldellis, *The Christian Parthenon: Classicism and Pilgrimage in Byzantine Athens* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 81–85 – or the events related in the vita of the local St. Luke of Steiris, founder of the Hosios Loukas Monastery: Carolyn Loessel Connor and Walter Robert Connor, *The Life and Miracles of Saint Luke of Steiris: Text, Translation and Commentary* (Brookline, Mass: Hellenic College Press, 1994). See also Charikleia Koilakou, "Η Βοιωτία κατά τη Βυζαντινή περίοδο (4ος αι.-1204)," accessed December 3, 2018, http://www.ehw.gr/l.aspx?id=12721.

3 A number of local figures are mentioned in the Vita of St. Luke of Steiris (see Connor and Connor, *Life and Miracles*), as well as in the Cadaster of Thebes. For the latter, see Nikos Svoronos, "Recherches sur le cadastre byzantin et la fiscalité aux XI^{e} et XII^{e} siècles: Le cadastre de Thèbes," *Bulletin de Correspondance Héllenique* 83 (1959): 1–166; Leonora Neville, "Information, Ceremony and Power in Byzantine Fiscal Registers: Varieties of Function in the Cadaster of Thebes," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 25 (2001): 20–43.

4 For the work of Jacoby, see David Jacoby, "Silk in Western Byzantium before the Fourth Crusade," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 84–85 (1991–1992): 470–498; David Jacoby, "Silk Production," in *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*, eds. Elizabeth Jeffreys, John Haldon, and Robin Cormack (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 421–428, here at 425. For the general picture as it emanates from archaeological research, see Charikleia Koilakou, "Thebes (Byzantine and Post-Byzantine)," accessed December 3, 2018, http://www.ehw.gr/l.aspx?id=13079; Aspasia Louvi-Kizi, "Thebes," in *The Economic History of Byzantium: From the Seventh Through the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Angeliki E. Laiou, Dumbarton Oaks Studies 39 (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2002), 631–638.

5 For a synopsis of the older research for the pre–1204 period, see the works of Dimitrios D. Triantafyllopoulos, "Χριστιανική και μεσαιωνική Χαλκίδα: Ανασκόπηση της νεώτερης αρχαιολογικής έρευνας," in *Διεθνές Επιστημονικό Συνέδριο «Η πόλη της Χαλκίδας», Χαλκίδα 24–27 Σεπτεμβρίου 1987* (Athens: Εταιρεία Ευβοϊκών Σπουδών-Τμήμα Χαλκίδας, 1990), 163–228; and Elisabeth Malamut, *Les îles de l'Empire byzantin : VIIIe-XIIe siècles* (Paris: Université de Paris I-Panthéon Sorbonne, 1988), esp. 221–227, 495–498.

6 Sylvie Yona Waksman, Nikos D. Kontogiannis, Stefania S. Skartsis, and Yannis Vaxevanis, "The Main 'Middle Byzantine Production' and Pottery Manufacture in Thebes and Chalkida," *Annual of the British School at Athens* 109 (2014): 379–422, here at 415–417.

7 For the events of the period, see William Miller, *The Latins in the Levant: A History of Frankish Greece (1204–1566)* (New York: E.P. Dutton and Company, 1908), esp. 30–36, 45; Peter Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean, 1204–1500* (London: Longman, 1995), 5–8; Nickiphoros Tsougarakis,"The Latins in Greece: A Brief Introduction," in *A Companion to Latin Greece*, eds. Nickiphoros I. Tsougarakis and Peter Lock (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 1–4.

8 Pari Kalamara, Maria Kosma, Kostas Boukaras, and Yannis Chairetakis, *The City of Chalcis: Chalcis-Euripus-Negroponte-Eğriboz* (Athens: Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports, 2015), 25–58.

9 For Thebes, see Koilakou, "Thebes." For Chalcis, see Nikos Kontogiannis, "Euripos-Negroponte-Eğriboz: Material Culture and Historic Topography of Chalcis from Byzantium to the End of Ottoman rule," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 62 (2012): 29–56, here at 29–35. Also, Nikos Kontogiannis and Stefania Skartsis, eds., *Venetian and Ottoman Heritage in the Aegean: The 'Bailo House' in Chalcis*, ACSHA 8 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020), 24–26.

10 Eleni Manolessou, "Μεσαιωνική οχυρωματική αρχιτεκτονική στη Βοιωτία," accessed December 3, 2018, http://www.ehw.gr/l.aspx?id=12901; Nikos Kontogiannis, "Ανιχνεύοντας την Καταλανική Βοιωτία: Η αμυντική οργάνωση του Δουκάτου των Αθηνών κατά τον 14^{ο} αιώνα," in *Η Καταλανο-Αραγωνική Κυριαρχία στον Ελληνικό Χώρο* (Athens: Thervantes Institute, 2012), 67–109, here at 78–80.

11 For the research until ca. 2000, see reports by Charikleia Koilakou in *Archaiologikon Deltion* 51 (1996): 76–81; 53 (1998): 103–106; and 55 (2000): 152–55; and Louvi-Kizi, "Thebes." For more recent years, see reports by Charikleia Koilakou, in *Archaiologikon Deltion* 56–59 (2001–2004): 32–48; 60 (2005): 429–436;

and 61 (2006) 509–516; and Maria Andreadaki-Vlazaki, *2000–2010 από το αρχαιολογικό έργο των Εφορειών Αρχαιοτήτων* (Athens: Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2012), 38–39, 76–78.

12 Louvi-Kizi, "Thebes"; Koilakou, "1η Εφορεία (2006)."

13 Mixed use has been proposed for the area to the southwest of the Ismenion hill; see Koilakou, "1η Εφορεία (2006)," 513–515; eadem, "1η Εφορεία (2001–2004)," 36–38. Industrial use has been observed to the south and southeast of the Kadmeia, see Koilakou, "1η Εφορεία (2001–2004)," 33–36 (ceramic workshop); eadem, "1η Εφορεία (1998)," 101–103; eadem, "1η Εφορεία (1997)," 116–118 (watermill); eadem, "1η Εφορεία (1995)," 80–81 (unidentified use). For finds outside the Kadmeia, see also Koilakou, "1η Εφορεία (1997)," 115.

14 Charikleia Koilakou, "Η συμβολή των ανασκαφών στην έρευνα των βυζαντινών ναών της Θήβας," in *100 Χρόνια Αρχαιολογικού Έργου στη Θήβα: Οι πρωτεργάτες των ερευνών και οι συνεχιστές τους*, eds. Vasileios Aravantinos and Elena Kountouri (Athens: Ταμείο Αρχαιολογικών Πόρων, 2014), 397–438, here at 397, 434–437.

15 See esp. Koilakou, "1η Εφορεία (2006)," 520–521; eadem, "1η Εφορεία (1998)," 98–101; eadem, "1η Εφορεία (1997)," 118–120; eadem, "1η Εφορεία (1995)," 82–83.

16 For the aqueduct see Koilakou, "1η Εφορεία (1998)," 101; for examples of the pipeline system, see Louvi-Kizi, "Thebes," and almost all reports by Koilakou in the *Archaiologikon Deltion*; for the bathhouse, see Koilakou, "1η Εφορεία (1997)," 115.

17 Kontogiannis, "Euripos-Negroponte-Eğriboz," 32–33, 55.

18 For Ayia Varvara, see Kontogiannis, "Euripos-Negroponte-Eğriboz," 33. For Ayia Paraskevi, see Andreadaki-Vlazaki, *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο*, 74.

19 For architectural sculpture, see Kontogiannis, "Euripos-Negroponte-Eğriboz," 34–35; Eleni Kounoupiotou-Manolessou, "Μεσοβυζαντινά γλυπτά με ζώα από τη συλλογή γλυπτών στο Τζαμί της Χαλκίδας," *Deltion tes Christianikes Archaiologikes Hetaireias* 29, (2008): 221–232.

20 Andreadaki-Vlazaki, *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο*, 73.

21 Ibid.

22 Yannis Vaxevanis, "'Lions Frighten Wild Beasts…': A Middle Byzantine Inscribed Architectural Relief from the Chalcis Region," in *Art and Archaeology in Byzantium and Beyond: Essays in Honor of Professors Sophia Kalopissi-Verti and Maria Panayotidi-Kesisoglou*, eds. Dionysis Mourelatos et al. (Oxford: BAR Publishing, in press).

23 Occasionally described by earlier research as houses of aristocrats: Louvi-Kizi, "Thebes," 635–636.

24 Louvi-Kizi, "Thebes," 637–638; Koilakou, "Thebes."

25 Koilakou, "1η Εφορεία (2005)," 436; eadem, "1η Εφορεία (1993)," 77–79.

26 For the Confraternity of Virgin Naupaktiotissa, see John Nesbitt and John Wiita, "A Confraternity of the Comnenian Era," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 68 (1975): 360–384, here at 364; also, Leonora Neville, *Authority in Byzantine Provincial Society, 950–1100* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 173–174. For religious confraternities in Byzantium, see Claudia Rapp, *Brother-Making in Late Antiquity and Byzantium: Monks, Laymen, and Christian Ritual*, Onassis Series in Hellenic Culture (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 17–21.

27 See the text in Nesbitt and Wiita, "Confraternity," 364–373.

28 Nesbitt and Wiita, "Confraternity," 378.

29 Koilakou, "Thebes."

30 Nesbitt and Wiita, "Confraternity," 380–381; Rapp, *Brother-Making*, 19.

31 Nesbitt and Wiita, "Confraternity," 373–378.

32 "Above all else, (assembling) as a body once each month in whatever church the icon has its place, carrying it from there with holy hymns, let us convey it to

wherever one of us shall prepare its monthly resting place; from there again to another place where another (shall do likewise) and so successively in turn until the whole brotherhood has been encompassed: each one of us performing all service to this holy icon for an interval of one full month." Trans. Nesbitt and Wiita, "Confraternity," 368–369.

33 Neville, *Authority*, 72.
34 Neville, *Authority*, 72, 173.
35 Koilakou, "1η Εφορεία (1995)," 80–81; eadem, "1η Εφορεία (1996)," 76–78.
36 Koilakou, "Βιοτεχνικές εγκαταστάσεις βυζαντινής εποχής στη Θήβα: Αρχαιολογικά τεκμήρια βιοτεχνικών εγκαταστάσεων κατά τη βυζαντινή εποχή, 5ος-15ος αι," in *Ειδικό θέμα του 22ου Συμποσίου Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής Αρχαιολογίας και Τέχνης* (Athens: Πολιτιστικό Ίδρυμα Ομίλου Πειραιώς, 2004), 221–229, here at 226–229. For Benjamin of Tudela's account, see Sandra Benjamin, *The World of Benjamin of Tudela: A Medieval Mediterranean Travelogue* (Madison, WI: Associated University Presses, 1995), 119–122.
37 Louvi-Kizi, "Thebes," 636.
38 See above, p. 224; Yannis Vaxevanis, "Οδός Ωρίωνος 10 (οικόπεδο ιδιοκτησίας Χ. Δημαρέλου-Δεληβοριά)," *Archaiologikon Deltion* 62, Χρονικά (2007): 601–603.
39 Waksman et al., "Middle Byzantine Production," 417.
40 *The Chronicle of Morea, Το Χρονικόν του Μορέως: A History in Political Verse,* ed. John Schmitt (London: Methuen, 1904), v. 8080–8092; Teresa Shawcross, *The Cronicle of Morea: Historiography in Crusader Greece* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 31–32.
41 For the Tower, see Kontogiannis, "Ανιχνεύοντας," 78–80.
42 Sarantis Symeonoglou, *The Topography of Thebes from the Bronze Age to Modern Times* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 161–164.
43 Koilakou, "1η Εφορεία (2004)," 231–237; Koilakou, "Η συμβολή των ανασκαφών," 432–433.
44 Ramon Muntaner, *Chronicle,* trans. Lady Goodenough (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1920–21), 488–489.
45 Kenneth Setton, *Catalan Domination of Athens 1311–1388* (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1948), esp. 18–20; David Jacoby, "L'état catalan en Grèce: Société et institutions politiques," in *Els Catalans a la Mediterrània oriental a l'edat mithana, Barcelona 16 i 17 de novembre de 2000, Jordades Cientifiques de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Secció Històrico-Arqueològica,* ed. Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol (Barcelona: Istitut d'Estudis Catalans, Secció Històrico-arqueològica, 2003), 83–92.
46 Lock, *Franks*, 125–126.
47 This was the result of the abrogation of the Assizes of Romania (which acknowledged the status and land rights of Greek landowners), and the granting of Catalan status to a very restricted number of locals. Also, Catalans forbade the marriage of Greeks with Latin women and backed this up with a ban on Greeks acquiring landed property. Ibid., 287, 291–292.
48 Shawcross, *Chronicle of Morea,* 31–32; Kontogiannis, "Ανιχνεύοντας," 78–80.
49 This has been observed in many of the *extra muros* excavation reports, see above, p. 226.
50 For discussion of this phenomenon and its potential explanations, see below, p. 227.
51 *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, ed. Ioannes A. van Dieten, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 11 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1975), 610. For the location and history of the Castrum, see David Jacoby, "La consolidation de la domination de Venise dans la ville de Négropont (1205–1390) : Un aspect de sa politique coloniale," in *Bisanzio, Venezia e il mondo franco-greco (XIII-XV secolo)*, eds. Chrysa A. Maltezou and Peter Schreiner (Venice: Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini di Venezia, 2002), 151–187, here at 162–163, 166–167.

52 Properties belonging to the likes of Ansuino de Karystos, Michele Morosini, Donato Moro, Geremia Ghisi and Jacopo Cocco are mentioned in the texts studied in Jacoby, "Consolidation," 157–161.
53 See Andreadaki-Vlazaki, *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο*, 74.
54 Jacoby, "Consolidation,"155–156.
55 Ibid.; Pierre A. Mackay, "New Light on Negropont," accessed December, 14, 2018, http://home.um.edu.mt/medinst/mmhn/pierre_mckay.pdf.
56 Jacoby, "Consolidation," 155–164. Visually represented by Pierre A. Mackay in the map (Figure 8.10).
57 For the Jewish quarter, see Jacoby, "Consolidation," 178–180; Maria Georgopolou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies: Architecture and Urbanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 200–202.
58 Georgopolou, *Mediterranean Colonies*, 200–206.
59 For the Dominican Basilica, see Pierre MacKay, "St. Mary of the Dominicans: The Monastery of the Fratres Praedicatores in Negropont," in *Atti del Convegno Internazionale 'Venezia-Eubea, da Egripos a Negroponte', Chalkida 12–14 Novembre 2004*, eds. Chrysa A. Maltezou and Cristina E. Papakosta (Venice: Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini di Venezia, 2006), 125–156, esp. at 142–150; Nikolaos Delinikolas and Vasiliki Vemi, "Η Αγία Παρασκευή Χαλκίδας: Ένα Βενετικό πρόγραμμα ανοικοδόμησης το 13^{o} αιώνα," in *'Venezia-Eubea, da Egripos a Negroponte*,' 229–266, esp. at 230–235. For the Bailo house: ibid., 254–257; Yorgos Kourmadas and Panagiota Taxiarchi, "Νέα στοιχεία για την αστική αρχιτεκτονική στη βενετσιάνικη Χαλκίδα: Το παράδειγμα του κτηρίου Βαίλου," in *An Island between Two Worlds, The Archaeology of Euboea from Prehistoric to Byzantine Times*, eds. Žarko Tankosić, Fanis Mavridis, and Maria Kosma, Papers and Monographs from the Norwegian Institute at Athens 6 (Athens: The Norwegian Institute at Athens, 2017), 639–652, here at 640–645. Kontogiannis and Skartsis, *Venetian and Ottoman Heritage.*
60 Kourmadas and Taxiarchi, "Νέα στοιχεία," 640–641.
61 For more details, see Kontogiannis and Skartsis, *Venetian and Ottoman Heritage,* 158–163.
62 For Crete, see Charalambos Gasparis, "Οι επαγγελματίες του Χάνδακα κατά τον 14ο αιώνα: Σχέσεις με τον καταναλωτή και το κράτος," *Symmeikta* 8 (1989): 85–132.
63 Jacoby, "Consolidation," 177.
64 Kenneth Setton, "The Catalans in Greece, 1311–1380," in *A History of the Crusades* III: *The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, eds. Kenneth M. Setton and Harry W. Hazard (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1975), 167–224, here at 222.
65 Such as the unique bowl of Eirine, a silver vessel of the late eighth century bearing the stamps of the imperial controllers; see Eleftheria Voltyraki, "'… ΑΓΕΤΑΙ… ΓΑΜΕΤΗΝ ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ…': Νικηφόρου Πατριάρχου, Ιστορία Σύντομος, 77.9–10," *Deltion tes Christianikes Archaiologikes Hetaireias* 35 (2014): 349–360.
66 The main argument promoted by Neville, *Authority* (see esp. 119, 125, 136), was that imperial authority took a keen interest mainly in the military integrity (including the fortifications and city renewal) and, subsequently, in the taxation of the provinces, while paying little attention to local affairs.
67 Jacoby, "Silk in Western Byzantium," 462–465, 471–488.
68 Waksman et al., "Middle Byzantine Production," 406–416.
69 Sylvie Yona Waksman et al., "Investigating the Origins of Two Main Types of Middle and Late Byzantine Amphorae," *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports* 21 (2018): 1111–1121, here at 1118.
70 Nicolas Oikonomides, "La décomposition de l'Empire Byzantin à la veille de 1204 et les origines de l'Empire de Nicée: À propos de la Partitio Romaniae,"

in *XVe Congrès International d'Études Byzantines* (Athens: Association Internationale des Études Byzantines, 1976), 3–28, here at 17–18.

71 *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, 609, 81–82 (translation by the author).

72 Lock, *Franks*, 284.

73 This may be the case for a number of coin hoards, mostly containing petty denominations, which were found in various plots both within and outside the Kadmeia. Most notable is a large hoard of thousands of soldini and torneselli, concealed around 1,400. It was found in 1973 in a rescue excavation and is currently exhibited in the Thebes Museum as it was found, that is, preserving the shape of its container. Kyriaki Kalliga, Athina Papadaki and Yannis Vaxevanis, *A Guide to the Archaeological Museum of Thebes* (Athens: Ephorate of Antiquities of Boeotia, 2015), 49.

74 Anastasia Papadia-Lala, "Κοινωνική οργάνωση και αστική κοινότητα στην Εύβοια κατά τη βενετική περίοδο (1390–1470)," in *Atti del Convegno Internazionale 'Venezia-Eubea, da Egripos a Negroponte', Chalkida 12–14 Novembre 2004*, eds. Chrysa A. Maltezou and Cristina E. Papakosta (Venice: Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini di Venezia, 2006), 27–40, here at 33–39.

75 Nikos Kontogiannis, "What Did Syropoulos Miss? Appreciating the Art of the Lippomano Chapel in Venetian Negroponte," in *Sylvester Syropoulos on Politics and Culture in the Fifteenth-Century Mediterranean*, eds. Fotini Kondyli, Vera Andriopoulou, Eirini Panou, and Mary B. Cunningham, Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Studies 16 (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 107–134, here at 126–128.

76 For the hoards, see Alan Stahl, *The Venetian Tornesello: A Medieval Colonial Coinage*, Numismatic Notes and Monographs 163 (New York: American Numismatic Society, 1985); Ormonde Maddock Dalton, "Medieval Personal Ornaments from Chalcis in the British and Ashmolean Museums," *Archaeologia* 62 (1911): 391–404.

77 Smaragdi Arvaniti, "Η εφυαλωμένη κεραμική από την πόλη των Θηβών 13ος αιώνας έως και όψιμη Οθωμανική περίοδος (1204–1829): Η μαρτυρία των ανασκαφικών ευρημάτων από την περιοχή της Καδμείας" (PhD diss., University of Athens, 2013), 164–183.

78 Setton, *Catalan Domination,* 218, mentions a document according to which a prominent citizen named Conominas secured the loss of Thebes, dealing directly with the Florentine, Nerio Acciajuoli.

79 For these events, see ibid., 134–143 (for the Catalan surrender of Thebes), and 209–211 (for the last Florentine ruler).

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9 Privacy, friendship, and social regulation in Byzantine neighbourhoods

Leonora Neville

Neighbourhood was not commonly used as an administrative classification in Byzantium. In a formal sense, neighbourhoods do not seem to have been particularly important to the Byzantine imperial government. Yet neighbourhood remains a useful category of analysis for understanding the interplay between the built environment, human communities, and government in Byzantium. If we adopt a heuristic definition of a neighbourhood as "a small area of frequent face-to-face interaction,"[1] we can explore how people interacted with the spaces and communities in which their lives unfolded. Focusing on the neighbourhood as a heuristic category allows us to shine a light on the spatial relationships of tight communities. To answer the question of how the Byzantine neighbourhood was governed, we need to look for formal imperial administration, law regulating the interactions between neighbours, and informal community decision-making about how people ought to get along.

Village, rather than neighbourhood, is the category that dominates discussions of Byzantine provincial administration. In the system of taxation at play in the ninth through eleventh centuries, inspectors registered taxpayers village by village. The Marcian treatise on taxation contains complex instructions on how to deal with areas that were added to the fiscal district of the village or that had become detached from the registration for the village, but does not address the taxation of neighbourhoods.[2] Compilations of laws of the middle Byzantine era, such as the *Ekloga* and *Basilika*, do not use neighbourhood as a legal category. These texts do have a great deal to say about neighbours, and the regulation of boundaries between adjacent landholdings was clearly a matter of legal concern. Legal texts are concerned with establishing rules about how people sharing boundaries should avoid and resolve conflicts. Records of land ownership frequently clarify precisely which of the neighbours were adjacent to each side of the piece of land.

So, the simple answer to the question of how the government interacted with neighbourhoods seems to be that it did not. There might have been some form of imperial administration of neighbourhoods, but to my knowledge, we have no evidence hinting at such, and studies of other aspects of

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the imperial government do not lead me to expect any. Local communities appear to have regulated themselves in the absence of government interest.[3]

As often, Constantinople may have been an exception. Using Michael Smith's definition of a district as "a larger zone with administrative and social significance within the city," it seems that Constantinople may have had official districts.[4] There are some indications that the late antique districts retained some imprint on the medieval city. The late ninth-century *Kletorologion of Philotheos* lists "judges of the regions," (*kritai ton regeōnōn*) and the "*geitoniarchai*" as subordinate to the Prefect of Constantinople.[5] Paul Magdalino thinks the continued use of the Latin term *regeonon* indicates a connection between the ninth-century regions and the districts known from the sixth-century *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*.[6] The *Kletorologion* notes that there were 12 *geitoniarches* subordinate to the eparch. Magdalino, following Bury, suggests that perhaps the *geitoniarchai* "were the equivalent of the curatores in the Notitia."[7] Magdalino also sees echoes of the 12 districts in the requirement that the city have 24 notaries seen in the *Book of the Eparch*.[8] This echo seems faint to me, since the number may have been circumscribed to keep the prices of their work high. As Albrecht Berger notes in his contribution to this volume, the Book of Ceremonies mentions *geitoniarches,* but they do not seem to correspond to real neighbourhoods because they are only two of them.[9]

While these hints about the government of Constantinople perhaps indicate that regions of the city remained divided along the lines of the late antique urban foundation, or into somewhat similar large-scale districts, we do not know what those districts meant in terms of administration; that we know about them from their judges indicates that they had to do with law enforcement and legal disputes. What does the availability of courts have to do with neighbourhoods? The *Book of the Eparch* is our best guide to what the government of Constantinople worried about, and it is resolutely disinterested in neighbourhoods or districts.[10] Its regulations covered the whole city, and the authority of the Eparch extended to 100 miles outside the city.[11] The regulations are articulated by industry rather than place. Certain goods are to be sold only in designated marketplaces or public spaces.[12] But other regulations pertaining to neighbourhoods or districts are lacking. So even in Constantinople, neighbourhoods do not seem to have been administered formally.

The informality of a neighbourhood is reflected in the deeds of sale and donation preserved in monastic archives. Neighbourhoods are mentioned in acts of sale and donation where they help specify the location of particular parcels of land. The neighbourhoods are mentioned in the introductory statement of a sale and only rarely in the formal description of the boundaries. The legally binding boundary description draws the borders around all the sides of the property by mentioning the property of others, landmarks, and features of geography. The name of the neighbourhood is not part of this formal description of the property. Most records of sale or donation do not mention neighbourhoods at all, and likely many properties were not associated with neighbourhoods.

Most texts mentioning neighbourhoods pertain to land in the city of Thessaloniki.[13] Neighbourhoods seem to take the name of prominent churches. The neighbourhood of the *Asomatoi* in Thessaloniki, *tē geitonía tōn Asōmatōn* or *tē geitonía tōn panagiōtatōn Asōmatōn,* is mentioned in seven documents preserved in Mount Athos dated between 1097 and 1315.[14] Properties were also sold in the neighbourhood of the Great Panagia, *tē geitonía tēs megalēs Panagias*, the neighbourhood of the Acheiropoieto, the neighbourhood of Hagios Paramonos, and the neighbourhood of Hagia Myna.[15] Several properties were sold in the neighbourhood of the Hippodrome in the fourteenth century.[16] These neighbourhoods seem to have been named after major urban landmarks.

The informality of the government approach to neighbourhoods may not be unusual. Compared to government structures, neighbourhoods are frequently far more organic and may shift in their demography and median wealth fairly quickly. Even if the ancient administrative districts, or other medieval administrative districts, existed for Constantinople, we should probably not expect them to correspond to neighbourhoods in the sense of zones of personal interaction.

A comparative look at a modern example alerts us to the possibility of overlapping meanings of neighbourhood and their disjuncture from urban administration. The name “Italian Harlem” in the early decades of the twentieth century applied to the whole section of Manhattan in which there was a concentrated settlement of Italians, at its height encompassing 104th to 120th Streets from Third Avenue to the East River.[17] Within this large neighbourhood, residents could identify several nests of sub-neighbourhoods. The Neapolitans, for example, lived on 106th to 108th Streets, creating a recognizable Neapolitan neighbourhood. Each face-block (the two sides of one street that face each other between two cross streets) moreover was also considered its own neighbourhood. The population density of these areas was such that a single block could house up to 3,000 people.[18] These small-scale neighbourhoods developed their individual identity, initially based on predominant origins from a single town in southern Italy and, later, on shared experiences. It was expected that spouses would be chosen from the immediate neighbourhood of the block.[19]

So, perhaps, we should be open to the possibility of multiple, overlapping neighbourhood identities: neighbourhoods within neighbourhoods. The more densely populated an area, the more likely it was conceived as consisting of nested neighbourhoods. Even the most heavily urbanized sections of Constantinople could not possibly have come close to the level of population density seen in Italian Harlem, but it would stand to reason that people would have a stronger sense of neighbourhood differentiation within a more heavily urban context. If people lived in tightly packed housing, they could see a close neighbourhood of people with whom they shared immediate resources, as well as a larger general neighbourhood in their part of the city. When there are a lot of people whom you do not know, the creation of ties with some subset of the general population would seem natural. People were probably able to adjust their definitions of who really counted as neighbours depending on the situation at hand. The history of Skylitzes tells the story of a would-be rebel who gathered as his supporters "his family, servants, and neighbours."[20] In such a circumstance, I believe that individuals in the locality had a choice in whether they identified as the man's neighbours. They could choose to stand in solidarity with that man as a neighbour or to stay away, either in opposition to his agenda or avoidance of his troubles.

A second insight arising from the modern comparison is that neighbourhoods can change fairly rapidly. Even at the height of Italian Harlem, the percentage of Italians living in these neighbourhoods rarely surpassed 80%, with changing mixes of Irish, Jewish, Black, and Puerto Rican residents sharing the real estate.[21] By the 1960s, Italian Harlem had become Spanish Harlem, as Italian residents moved out and Puerto Ricans moved in. It was not uncommon for ethnic enclaves to last only a few generations. Twentieth-century New York was an extreme case of an immigrant city, but urban populations generally sustain themselves through immigration.[22] In the Marcian treatise, the tax inspector is taught to expect that some families will have grown so much from having healthy children that new villages will have formed, or that a village may have been abandoned because everyone had died.[23] We do not know if Constantinople experienced the same fairly rapid evolution in neighbourhood demographics as Manhattan. The Jewish quarter of Constantinople, however, moved several times in the course of the city's history.[24] This may have been a special case, since the Jewish community may have been forced to move out of the city proper to Galata, but it is indicative of at least some neighbourhood change. Nikos Kontogiannis' chapter in this volume provides several examples of neighbourhoods moving and population change in Chalcis and Thebes. These examples reinforce the idea that neighbourhoods could be relatively transient. Compared to the *longue durée* of Constantinopolitan districts, neighbourhoods with a particular cohesive identity may have been relatively fleeting.

A final point arising from our comparison is that neighbourhoods and civic administration need not overlap. The New York City government services and policing that served Italian Harlem were administered on the basis of precincts laid out more or less on a grid that ignored neighbourhood boundaries. Given the fluid and changing nature of the ethnic neighbourhoods of the city, adjusting the administrative districts to match their constantly shifting boundaries would have been impossible. If Constantinople had districts for each of the *kritai ton regeōnōn* mentioned in the *Kletorologion of Philotheos* and the 12 *geitoniarchai,* likely they did not correspond to the boundaries of neighbourhoods.

The interactions that characterize the Byzantine neighbourhood seem to have been at the rub between community solidarity and familial privacy.

To get a sense of the organization and regulation of neighbourhoods, let us explore Byzantine conceptions of neighbourliness. Ideas of privacy and familial autonomy seem to run contrary to equally prevalent ideas of community solidarity. It is at this interface that we may be able to see the workings of a neighbourhood.

There were legal expectations for space between buildings, grounded in ancient Roman law, and motivated by a desire for privacy. The early tenth-century *Procheiron Nomos* law manual mandates that 12 feet must be left between buildings.[25] One of the laws of Leo the Wise regulates the space between balconies on buildings and provides a rationale clarifying that privacy was the key issue.[26] The law notes that ancient laws had set ten feet as the distance that must be maintained between buildings. The ancient laws, however, did not mention the so-called "*ēliakōn*" that were built "for the sole enjoyment of life in the open air." The French translators choose the term "Belvedere balcony" to translate open-air viewing stages, "*upaithrōn proskēniōn theatēriōn*." They were certainly some kind of an open porch or balcony. Leo decreed that these also must be ten feet from neighbouring houses. Leo was particularly concerned with the privacy of the neighbours. He explains that, since the reason for leaving ten feet between buildings was so that neighbours could not see into each other's houses, then certainly the balconies ought to be similarly regulated because they provide particularly good places for looking at others. One sitting or working in one's own house ought to be out of the view of neighbours. Leo specifies that one could not cover over such a structure with a marble roof without ensuring that ten feet separated the structure from that of its neighbours. An exception is allowed if such buildings had been constructed long ago, or were the result of an amicable agreement between neighbours. Leo's law is interesting for the study of neighbourhoods because it holds out an ideal that separate families should occupy separate spaces, and that the privacy of the family should not be compromised by an urban setting.[27] It hints at a "to each his own" mentality that stands somewhat opposed to the busybody mindset often associated with close-knit communities.

At the other end of the spectrum, a humorous text of the twelfth century provides glimpses of far denser living conditions that would have violated Leo's sense of privacy. Ioannes Tzetzes' often quoted description of the building he shared (with the farmer on the first floor and a priest with pigs and too many children on the third) indicates the sort of packed urban housing in which one got to know one's neighbours well, whether they liked it or not.[28] I am hesitant to take such a description, clearly intended to be humorous, as a datum from which we can extract a plan of the city's urban fabric. Tzetzes' picture is of a worst-case scenario. Yet, the humour is based on the assumption that greater privacy and separation from neighbours would be better.

Other texts indicate that neighbours fought about how each other's buildings affected their light and views as well as their access to water and roads.

A story told about Emperor Theophilos claims that he was so concerned with justice that he punished his own brother-in-law for constructing a tall building that deprived an old widow's house of light.[29] According to the *Procheiron Nomos,* however, it was legal to block a neighbour's view of the sea so long as the new building was at least 12 feet away from the old one.[30]

Both the law of Leo and Tzetzes' horror story suggest that neighbours are people from whom one's privacy must be protected. Neighbours were not considered part of the same household. Kekaumenos' eleventh-century guide to the good life advised hosts to entertain guests in a separate building to prevent them from looking at one's women. Kekaumenos thought that simply letting a friend into one's household was an opportunity for him to dishonour the host. Kekaumenos was talking about a particular class of men who able to keep their women sequestered and maintain guesthouses. Would those less lofty have shared the underlying cultural predilections? Non-elite women necessarily left their houses to go to markets or places of employment.[31] Women's modesty, class, and visibility were tightly entwined in the gender culture of Byzantium. The ability to keep daughters sequestered until marriage was a marker of social class as much as a concern for modesty.

The elite desire for enclosed spaces was likely shared by non-elites who often would have had to make do with much more crowded circumstances. Such non-elite families seem to have had two potential ways of dealing with the desire for private familial space. The first would be to maintain physical barriers or spaces between the family and the rest of the world. This is the sort of separation envisioned in Leo's law forbidding houses to have balconies that overlook each other too closely. The other option would be to create a sense of close familiarity with neighbours so that they would not count as strangers. Neighbours could be constructed to be "like family," meaning that the need for privacy, and the need for barriers sequestering women, would be lessened. This option was taken by residents of Italian Harlem who frequently recalled that everyone in their building was "like family": they thought nothing of entering neighbours' apartments, borrowing clothes and house goods freely, and watching each other's children. At the same time, however, their culture placed a tremendous premium on the honour and well-being of the individual family. For all that they were living on top of each other, neighbours were "like family" but very definitely "*not* family."[32] If Byzantine neighbourhoods took the option of treating neighbours "like family" – and let us be clear that this is a supposition – then neighbours would be people who knew each other's intimate business. We can ask where the border between extended household and close neighbourhood lay. It is unclear whether families chose to include neighbours in their sphere of intimacy or strove to maintain their privacy. Would Byzantine people aspire to live in a place where there would be enough space between homes that neighbours would not know one's intimate business? Despite affection and nostalgia for the old neighbourhood, the Italian Americans of

Harlem traded their tenements for suburban houses with big lawns as fast as they could.

Studies of the built environments provide hints of both desire for privacy and communities working together in Byzantine neighbourhoods. Amy Papalexandrou's contribution to this volume gives a clear example of a community that acted together to build a portico and narthex for their church. In this case, a disparate group of individuals and families worked together to get an improved church complex and a canopied well. The well and portico became shared community resources and spaces where people could join in community activities. In stark contrast, Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan provides examples of communities in which the individual groups built walls around their own complexes including walling off their own water sources. In Böhlendorf-Arslan's Assos, there was no public water. These two very different impressions of Byzantine neighbourhoods show how Byzantine social structures could manifest themselves in markedly different ways in different situations. Byzantine social relations were not so uniform or clearly defined for us to see consistent patterns in how people got along. Neighbours could decide either to build a shared well together or to build walls around their family wells. Clearly, there was tension between defending the integrity of the family and working together with neighbours. Neighbours are both one's potential allies and also the biggest competitors.

The gate barring entrance to a street, described in Fotini Kondyli's chapter, is similarly an example of some neighbours seizing control of resources that they wished to safeguard from others. It was an act of privatization of public space that was illegal. The *Procheiron Nomos* clearly forbade blocking off any part of a street or encroaching on public space.[33] While the road closure in Athens was well beneath the notice of the imperial government, such an act of privatization may have been opposed by local governors. We do not know if the street in question was inhabited by an extended family, or if a group of unrelated neighbours decided to act together in building the gate. Regardless, the example of this gate lets us know that an impulse to make spaces more private existed.

The existence of multiple tiny churches in the Athenian Agora, also described in Kondyli's chapter, suggests that families or small sub-neighbourhoods desired to have their own holy places. A possible context for these structures may be suggested by the Confraternity of Thebes, an eleventh-century prayer and burial association. Its foundation charter describes a monthly procession in which the group's icon was moved from one member's church to another's, with each member hosting the icon in turn. The icon's host was charged with regular prayer before the icon and had to pay the priest to say the Eucharist before it for the benefit of the whole confraternity.[34] Some of the members may have been socially prominent and well-off, but the core function of the confraternity in offering mutual assurance of decent burial implies that not all members enjoyed an abundance of wealth. The place in which members venerated the icon for their month may have been a section within their houses or a private church. The tiny churches in the Athenian Agora may have been the sort of small holy spaces that the confraternity members used to house the icon. While it is difficult to square the other indications of a middling social station of the confraternity members with the idea that they each owned their own churches, the tiny ad hoc structures in alleyways seen in the Agora suggest the possibility of remarkably inexpensive private churches. How would such a church have functioned in a neighbourhood? Would the confraternity member invite his neighbours to venerate the icon when it was in his church? I guess that the neighbourhood community would have been able to pray before the icon and perhaps support the confraternity member with the expenses.

It is most likely that neighbours were both a force for policing each other's behaviour through gossip, and a resource for mutual aid and community health. Provincial communities seem to me to be almost entirely self-regulating, meaning that neighbours need to band together to protect their interests at the same time that they were all potential rivals. When facing a common threat, villagers could collectively fight for their common interests, although they were simultaneously essentially competitors.[35] We have no examples of texts that describe these contentions in terms of neighbourhood, but using our heuristic definition of neighbourhood, we can see that our texts do speak to neighbourhood interactions. The victor in local disputes was the person who could bring the greatest combination of social capital, money, or muscle to bear on the problem, which usually meant that he had been most persuasive and had become the person whom the rest of the community wanted to back.[36] People seem to have competed for a good reputation that could lead to community authority. It is natural to think that neighbours would be both allies and competitors and that they would regulate each other's moral behaviour through gossip and concern with a family's reputation.

Two texts suggest, in quite different ways, that neighbourhoods were conceived of as arenas for the maintenance of moral rectitude. One indication comes in Alexios' I law on the reform of the clergy of 1107. It has provisions for the institution of teachers, *didaskaloi,* who will encourage moral behaviour in the neighbourhoods, *tas geitonías*.[37] This text does not indicate how many neighbourhoods are envisioned. The teachers are both to exhort good moral conduct and to prevent scandalous behaviour, either through their own teaching, or by referring problems to the holy patriarch, who in turn would refer matters to the emperor or others in authority. The emperor does not give examples of the sorts of behaviours that would be sufficiently scandalous to be worthy of his attention. The law stipulates that there would be 12 of these teachers, and it is possible that one was supposed to be responsible for each of the 12 old districts of Constantinople.

Neighbourhoods also appear as fulcrums of moral policing in the *Life and Works of St Gregentios, Archbishop of Taphar. The Life of St. Gregentios* is a tenth-century Constantinopolitan hagiographic novel, set vaguely in the sixth century, in which the hero travels from Italy through the Mediterranean and eventually serves as archbishop in the land of the Homerites in southern Arabia.[38] The "laws of the Homerites" of St. Gregentios purports to be a sixth-century law code written by Gregentios for the king of the Homerites. It also most likely originated in tenth-century Constantinople.[39]

This text does not resemble a real law code so much as a list of immoral behaviours that would be banned in an ideal city. There are lots of rules against various kinds of sex (in fact, these take up a substantial portion of the code), and also rules against drinking, fighting, gaming, music playing, playtime for young people, skipping church, working on the Sabbath, and women thinking they are better than men (good evidence that the people of Constantinople were doing all of these things). People are supposed to report their transgressions and those of their neighbours to their local *geitoniarch*, with heavy punishments falling on those who simply fail to report their neighbours:

> If a man sees his neighbour doing any kind of evil and unlawful thing, and does not make him manifest to his *geitoniarches* and is denounced, he shall receive, if he is rich, seventy strokes in public, and if he is poor, he shall be fined four nomismata.[40]

Geitoniarchai are supposed to regulate the moral conduct of the neighbourhood, actively subverting personal privacy:

> look in various ways upon the things that happen in the houses, and if you learn that any mishaps occur, report them to the master of that house, and they should be corrected on the spot. And if he refuses to hear you, make this immediately known to us through the prefect.[41]

Geitoniarchai were responsible for making sure that everyone in their neighbourhoods attended church regularly.[42] Gregentios' king was so pleased with these regulations that he wanted every *geitoniarch* to have a copy of the law code, and with the help of a miraculous wind, each *geitoniarch* found a copy had blown into his robes.

This law code is clearly a fiction, and seems like the fantasy of a sex-obsessed monk. The meaning of the term *geitoniarch* must have been immediately clear to the intended audience. The *Life of Gregentios* explains how the king divided his capital city into 36 districts, *rhegeōnas,* each governed by a *geitoniarch*.[43] The author presumably avoided terminology that was actually current in Constantinople in order to maintain the illusion that the text was written in sixth-century Arabia. I doubt there was an analogous office in Constantinople to that of the *geitoniarch* posited in Gregentios' law code, but Alexios' *didaskaloi* may have been somewhat similar. Gregentios' law code represents a vision of a city run with an extraordinarily stringent level of morality. Community gossip plays a role in enforcing morality in many neighbourhoods.[44] It is possible that the author of this text imagined the common role of gossip and developed it into a far more systematic policing mechanism. In place of women's informal chitchat, the observations of neighbours are channelled through the masculine authority of the *geitoniarch* and result in physical and financial punishments.

Moral behaviour was important because the good reputation of the neighbourhood reflected and created the good reputation of the family, which was in turn essential for creation of social capital. The (dystopian) fiction of Gregentios' law and Alexios' real law perhaps suggest that neighbourhoods were places where people looked out for each other's moral behaviour. As places where one family would know well the reputation of the others, neighbourhoods could be good places for recruiting potential wives and husbands. The desire to be part of a "good neighbourhood" presumably made honour and respectability community concerns.

The legislation arguing for the necessity of spatial distance between households, and the literary texts expressing a desire for privacy, hint at the tension on the border between household and neighbourhood. The evidence from archaeology suggests that remarkably divergent levels of community solidarity were present in different places. Interactions within neighbourhoods were clearly significant, and could be a source either of danger and social damage or of help and community advancement. I expect that the incentives to be a good neighbour were strong and a breakdown of good relations between neighbours could cause problems for everyone.

Notes

1 Michael Smith, "The Archaeological Study of Neighborhoods and Districts in Ancient Cities," *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 29 (2010): 137–154, here at 137.
2 Franz Dölger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der byzantinischen Finanzverwaltung, besonders des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1927).
3 Leonora Neville, *Authority in Byzantine Provincial Society, 950–1100* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 119–135.
4 Smith, "Archaeological Study," 137.
5 Nicolas Oikonomidès, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IXe et Xe siècles* (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1972), 113 and 179.
6 Paul Magdalino, "Neighbourhoods in Byzantine Constantinople," in *Hinter den Mauern und auf dem offenen Land: Leben im Byzantinischen Reich*, ed. Falko Daim and Jörg Drauschke, Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident 3 (Mainz: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, 2016), 23–30; here at 24.
7 Magdalino, "Neighbourhoods," 24. John Bagnell Bury, *The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century: With a Revised Text of the Kletorologion of Philotheos* (London: Frowde, 1911), 71–72.
8 Johannes Koder, *Das Eparchenbuch Leons des Weisen*, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 33 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1991), 82; Magdalino, "Neighbourhoods," 24.
9 In Chapter 55 of book 1 of the Book of Ceremonies, tentatively dated to the eighth century, the city factions each have a *geitoniarch* who was considered one

of the leaders of the factions. They are mentioned as attendants in promotion ceremonies for a *demarch* and deputy *demarch*. Ann Moffatt, trans., *Constantine Porphyrogennetos: The Book of Ceremonies*, Byzantina Australiensia 18 (Canberra: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 2012), 269–272. If we take *geitoniarch* to mean literally "neighbourhood leader" there would only be two neighbourhoods in the city. Another section of the ceremony book, thought to date to sometime after 963, lists donations customarily made at the appointment of various officials. When a patrician is appointed, it was customary to give donations of six pounds, of which the *geitoniarches* of the Blues and the Greens were given eight milaresia each. Moffatt, *Constantine Porphyrogennetos*, 799–803. For the dating of the section see Michael McCormick, "De Ceremoniis," in *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. Alexander Kazhdan (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1991), 595–597.

10 Koder, *Eparchenbuch*.

11 Johannes Koder, "The Authority of the *Eparchos* in the Markets of Constantinople (According to the *Book of the Eparch*)," in *Authority in Byzantium*, ed. Pamela Armstrong (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 83–108; here at 86.

12 Koder, *Eparchenbuch*, 5.2, 6.13, 15.3.

13 Thessaloniki is more frequently mentioned because it is the city closest to the monasteries of Mount Athos that preserved most of the surviving deeds of sale and donation.

14 Denise Papachryssanthou, ed., *Actes de Xénophon*, Archives de l'Athos 15 (Paris: P. Lethielleux, 1986), #8, #9, #10, #32. Nicolas Oikonomidès, ed., *Actes de Docheiariou*, Archives de l'Athos 13 (Paris: P. Lethielleux, 1984), #3; Paul Lemerle *et al*., eds., *Actes de Lavra I. Première partie: Des origines à 1204*, Archives de l'Athos 5 (Paris: P. Lethielleux, 1970), #53, #59.

15 Great Panagia and Acheiropoieto in 1320: Vassiliki Kravari *et al*., eds., *Actes d'Iviron III. De 1204 à 1328*, Archives de l'Athos 18 (Paris: P. Lethielleux, 1994), #78. Hagios Paramonos in 1264: Kravari et al., #60. Hagia Myna in 1432: André Guillou *et al*., eds., *Actes de Lavra III. De 1329 à 1500*, Archives de l'Athos 10 (Paris: P. Lethielleux, 1979), #168.

16 Neighbourhood of the Hippodrome, 1326: Kravari *et al*., *Iviron III*, #84. Neighbourhood of the Hippodrome, 1327: Jacques Bompaire *et al*., eds., *Actes de Vatopedi I*, Archives de l'Athos 21 (Paris: P. Lethielleux, 2001), #65. Neighbourhood of the Omphalos, 1420: Nicolas Oikonomidès ed., *Actes de Dionysiou*, Archives de l'Athos 4 (Paris: P. Lethielleux, 1968), #19. Other names are less easily explained, such as the neighbourhood of Kataphyge. An amicable division of a patrimony among three brothers mentions that some of the properties are in the neighbourhood of the Asomatoi and some in the neighbourhood of Kataphyge, 1110: Lemerle *et al*., *Lavra I*, #59. The neighbourhood of Chryses, mentioned 1421 in Thessaloniki, is also less obvious: Kravari *et al*., *Iviron III*, #97.

17 Robert A. Orsi, *The Madonna of 115th Street: Faith and Community in Italian Harlem, 1880–1950* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985), 17.

18 Orsi, *Madonna*, 29.

19 Orsi, *Madonna*, 34–35.

20 Ioannes Thurn, ed., *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis historiarum*, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 5 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1973), 481; John Wortley, trans., *John Skylitzes: A Synopsis of Byzantine History, 811–1057* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 449.

21 Orsi, *Madonna*, 17.

22 Smith, "Archaeological Study."

23 Dölger, *Beiträge,* 115–116.

24 A fifth-century synagogue was built in Chalkoprateia. The tenth-century Jewish quarter was on the north coast of the peninsula, and in the eleventh-century

Jewish quarter was in Galata. This settlement was dispersed by Crusaders, to be repopulated with Jewish refugees in the fourteenth century. Claudia Rapp, "A Medieval Cosmopolis: Constantinople and Its Foreign Inhabitants," in *Alexander's Revenge: Hellenistic Culture through the Centuries*, ed. Jón Ma. Ásgeirsson and Nancy Van Deusen (Reykjavik: University of Iceland Press, 2002), 153–171. David Jacoby, "Les quartiers juifs de Constantinople à l'époque byzantine," *Byzantion* 37 (1967): 167–227.

25 C. E. Zachariae, ed., *Tōn vasilikōn vivliōn Imperatorum Basilii, Constantini et Leonis Prochiron* (Heidelberg: J.C.B. Mohr, 1837), Chapter 38.6.

26 Pierre Noailles and Alphonse Dain, eds., *Les novelles de Léon VI, le Sage* (Paris: Société d'édition Les Belles Lettres, 1944), Novel 113, 372–375.

27 Julian of Ascalon's sixth-century treatise on building construction expresses concern with precise spacing between buildings and the construction of windows in upper-storey buildings. His precepts were later appended to the *Book of the Eparch* and Harmenopoulos' *Hexabiblos.* Besim S. Hakim, "Julian of Ascalon's Treatise of Construction and Design Rules from Sixth-Century Palestine," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 60 (2001): 4–25. Vasso Tourptsoglou-Stephanidou, "The Roman-Byzantine Building Regulations," in Besim S. Hakim, *Mediterranean Urbanism: Historic Urban / Building Rules and Processes* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2014), 127–162.

28 *Ioannis Tzetzae epistulae*, ed. Petrus Aloisius M. Leone (Leipzig: Teubner, 1972), 31–34.

29 Staffan Wahlgren, ed., *Symeonis Magistri et Logothetae Chronicon*, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byantinae 44 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2006), 218–219.

30 Zachariae, *Prochiron*, Chapter 38.6.

31 Angeliki Laiou, "Women in the Marketplace of Constantinople (10th-14th Centuries)," in *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life*, ed. Nevra Necipoğlu (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 261–273.

32 Orsi, *Madonna*, 75–106.

33 Zachariae, *Prochiron*, Chapter 38.34.

34 John W. Nesbitt and J. Wiita, "A Confraternity of the Comnenian Era," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 68 (1975): 360–384; Neville, *Authority*, 72–74 and 82–85.

35 Leonora Neville, "Organic Local Government and Village Authority," in *Authority in Byzantium*, ed. Pamela Armstrong (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 285–295. Neville, *Authority*.

36 Neville, *Authority*, 136–164.

37 Paul Gautier, "L'édit d'Alexis Ier Comnène sur la réforme du clergé," *Revue des études byzantines* 31 (1973): 165–201, here at 193.

38 Albrecht Berger, ed., *Life and Works of Saint Gregentios, Archbishop of Taphar*, trans. Albrecht Berger, Millennium Studies 7 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2006).

39 Berger, *Gregentios*, 82–91.

40 Berger, *Gregentios*, 417.

41 Berger, *Gregentios*, 443.

42 Berger, *Gregentios*, 445.

43 Berger, *Gregentios*, 409.

44 Ethnographic studies of modern Greek communities suggest that gossiping women upheld and enforced social norms, at the same time that the ill effects of gossip were feared. Sharon Gerstel's study of painted churches in Greece demonstrates that gossip was among the most commonly depicted sin associated with women. Sharon E. J. Gerstel, *Rural Lives and Landscapes in Late Byzantium: Art, Archaeology, and Ethnography* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 96–100. Regina Dionisopoulos-Mass, "The Evil Eye and Bewitchment in a Peasant Village," in *The Evil Eye*, ed. Clarence Maloney (New York: Columbia

University Press, 1976), 42–62. Further on the functions of gossip: Cam Grey, *Constructing Communities in the Late Roman Countryside* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 84–90; Margaret Mullett, "Byzantium: A Friendly Society?," *Past and Present* 118 (1988): 2–24.

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Index

Note: **Bold** page numbers refer to tables; *italic* page numbers refer to figures and page numbers followed by "n" denote endnotes.